UTTARAJJHAYAṆA AND SOCIO-RELIGIOUS FORMALISM

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In the priest-dominated society of ancient India certain customs and practices were generally regarded as conducive to temporal and eternal good. Consequently their observance had become almost obligatory. These were ceremonial sacrifices, respective order and duties of castes and stages of life, and rites of consecration.

Ceremonial sacrifices included, besides prayers, material oblations and gifts, Killing of animals such as horses and goats. Thus they contravened the general scriptual injunction—'One should not cause injury to living beings'[1]. Yet they were prescribed, specially for the kings, to secure supremacy in this world and heaven in the next.[2] Performer of one hundred ceremonial sacrifices was supposed to rise to Indrahood and command all the pleasures of heaven. Not only the legendary kings but historical ones too performed ceremonial sacrifices and rose to prominence.

Society was divided into four castes in order of importance viz. Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya, Vaiśya and Śūdra. They had their respective duties and occupations. Reading the Vedas, performing sacrifices and giving gifts to the Brāhmaṇas were the sacred duties of the first three castes. Their respective occupations were to teach, to protect the subjects and to earn money by trade and agriculture. Upon the Śūdras was enjoined to serve the other three castes.[3] Initially the caste-system might have emerged from a necessity of division of labour. But subsequently it grew rigid and birth became its foremost criterion. Inter-marriages being generally disfavoured, the accidental mixed castes were separately grouped and placed lower; the Untouchables—Cāṇḍālas and Sopākas were lowest down in the hierarchy. The latter were not allowed to enter at will the habitations of the higher castes. They were forced to live in suburbs and cemeteries and also move about like nomads. Their duties were to dispose of unclaimed dead bodies and behead the criminals sentenced to death. Clothes of the dead were their attire and asses and dogs their only possession.[4]

1. न हिंस्यात् सर्वभूतानि ।
2. स्वर्गकामोऽश्वमेधेन यजेत् ।
3. मनुस्मृति I, 88-91.
4. मनुस्मृति X, 51-56.

Proper performance of the caste-duties earned merit for the subject and transgression brought sin and disgrace; an important duty of the king was to see that no one swerved from caste-duties—Rama had to behead a Śūdra for practising ascticism. In the Bhagavadgītā Kṛiṣṇa admonished Arjuna that it was better to die in course of performing one's own caste-duties than assume the duties of another caste.[5] In the Shanti Parva of the Mahābhārata, when after considering lots of pros and cons, Yudhiṣṭhira was yet inclined to adopt an ascetic's life, Vyāsa gave his final verdict that 'a Kṣatriya's duty (in the second stage of life) was to hold the Sceptre, not the alms-bowl'.[6]

The whole span of life, specially in case of a Brāhmaṇa, had to be divided into four stages, each covering approximately one fourth of expected longevity. The first stage had to be devoted to the study of the Vedas and the second to leading a householder's life. The third stage had to be spent in a hermitage as an anchorite. The fourth was the stage of total abandonment of all earthly concerns. The first two stages were common to the first three castes. A ruler and warrior too was expected to enter hermitage and practise asceticism in the third and the fourth stages. But he might as well, after having transferred his responsibilities to his son, choose to die fighting in the battle-field.[7] There is no emphasis on the *third caste viz. the agriculturists* and traders entering hermitage and practising asceticism. The fourth caste viz. the Śūdras had no right to lay down the yoke and take to the practice of self-denial, not to talk of the Cāṇḍālas and the Sopākas.

Among the stages of life, the householder's was regarded as very important for it supported the other three stages and sustained society as a whole.[8] The greatest responsibility of a householder was to pay off the three debts which he respectively owed to gods, ancestors and sages. He had to pay off the debt of gods by performing ceremonial sacrifices according to his capacity, that of ancestors by getting married and begetting sons, and that of the sages by studying the Vedas. If he took to asecticism without paying off these debts, he was a defaulter and suffered spiritual

5. श्रेयान्स्वधर्मो विगुणः परधर्मात्स्वनुष्ठितात् ।
स्वधर्मे निधनं श्रेयः परधर्मो भयावहः ॥ III, 35.
Cf. स्वधर्ममपि चावेक्ष्य न विकम्पितुमर्हसि ।
धर्म्याद्धि युद्धाच्छ्रेयोऽन्यत्क्षत्रियस्य न विद्यते ॥ II, 31.
6. दण्ड एव हि राजेन्द्र क्षत्रधर्मो न मुण्डनम् । XXIII, 47.
7. मनुस्मृति IX, 323.
8. यथा वायुं समाश्रित्य सर्वे जीवन्ति जंतवः ।
तथा गृहस्थमाश्रित्य वर्त्तन्ते सर्वमाश्रमाः ॥ मनु० III, 77.

degeneration.[9] We are told in the Ādiparva of the Mahābhārata that one Jaratkāru had taken to asceticism without begetting a son. Consequently, his ancestors were in a precarious condition—hanging over the abyss with a thin thread, just about to fall into it when the last of there progeny viz. Jaratkāru was wiped out of earthly existence. Supposedly, a son sustained his deceased fore-fathers in heaven with oblations of food and water. Hence, no religious act brought that fulfilment which was due to the father of a son.[10]

In case of the first three castes certain purificatory rites and ceremonies had to be performed on different occasions. They were supposed to consecrate the subject and remove his sins.[11]

These formal customs and practices formed the core of the priestly religion. They had certain drawbacks: besides involving killing of animals, the ceremonial sacrifices were expensive[12]; earning merit by giving costly gifts was not possible for poor people; the caste-system did not give equal rights to all the constituents of society, certain people were forced to lead a miserable life; above all they put undue importance on formalism and tended to overlook the essence of religion viz. good conduct of the individual to achieve the ultimate good for himself and his society. Consequently, they were opposed by those who underlined good conduct and disregarded ritualistic formalities. Among the opponents were the Buddhists, the Jains and quite a few from the Brahmanical fold too.

In the Ardhmāgadhī Āgamas there are frequent confrontations between religions based on ethics on one hand and some sort of ritualistic formalism on the other. In the former, emphasis is on following a certain code of conduct such as abstinence from causing injury to life and telling lies etc. The latter underlines some purificatory rites such as holy baths and offering oblations into the fire etc.[13]

The Uttarajjhayaṇa goes a long way towards refuting or attempting to amend religious or social formation such as the ceremonial sacrifices, system of castes and stages of life and the purificatory rites.

9. मनुस्मृति VI, 35-37.
10. महाभारत आदि० XIII, 19-25.
11. मनुस्मृति II, 26.
12. जं त्विमं धर्ममाहुर्धनादेप प्रवर्त्तते ।
    ....
    अर्थेभ्योहि विवृद्धेभ्यः संभृतेभ्यस्ततस्तः ।
    क्रियाः सर्वाः प्रवर्त्तन्ते पर्वतेभ्य इवापगाः ॥
    ....अर्जुन, महा० शान्ति० VIII, 12-16.
13. नायाधम्मकहाओ I-5 (थावच्चापुत्त+सुदंसण)
    " I-8 (मल्ली+चोक्खा)

Efficacy of ceremonial sacrifices and the Caste-system too, has been questioned in chapters XII and XXV entitled Hariesijjaṁ (Harikeśiyaṁ) and Jaṇṇaijjin (*Yajñiyaṁ*) *respectively*.

Chapter XII relates the legend of a monk named Harikeśa Bala who though of perfect conduct, was born of Sopāka parents. Once after a religious fast of one month, he went to the sacrificial enclosure of some Brāhmaṇas to beg food. The latter, in spite of a Yakṣa's intercession on behalf of the monk, refused to oblige on the ground that the sacrificial food could not be given to low caste-people and that the well-born and learned Brāhmaṇs alone were the fit persons to receive gifts of food etc.[14] The Brāhmaṇas also asked their students and attendants to beat the intruder and drive him away. Bhadrā, the sacrificer's wife tried in vain to dissuade them with her testimony of the monk's firmness in self-control. But, with the influence of the Yakṣa, their misdeeds boomeranged upon them and they were all magically paralysed, each one badly bruised and senseless. Subsequently, the Brāhmaṇas realized their mistake, propitiated the monk and offerrd him food and drink. As the monk broke his fast, the five divine phenomena appeared.[15] Now supremacy of good conduct and austerities was staring the Brāhmaṇas in the face and their pride of caste *had melted away*.[16] They submitted to the monk who advised them to refrain from material sacrifices and switch over to the spiritual one in which penances and austerities were the fire, soul was the alter, body the fuel and the accumulated karmas were the oblations to be offered.[17] He also advised them not to take any body bath other than the one in the pond of good

14. न शूद्राय मतिं दद्यान्नोच्छिष्टं न हविष्कृतम् ।
न चास्योपदिशेद्धर्मं न चास्य व्रतमादिशेत् ॥ मनु० IV, 80.

× × × ×

सममब्राह्मणे दानं द्विगुणं ब्राह्मणब्रुवे ।
प्राधीते शतसाहस्रमनन्तं वेदपारगे ॥ मनु० VII, 85.

15. पञ्च दिव्यानि—

तहियं गन्धोदयपुप्फवासं दिव्वा तहिं वसुहारा य वुट्ठा ।
पहयाओ दुन्दुहीओ सुरेहिं आगासे अहोदाणं च घुट्ठं ॥
....उत्तर० XII, 36.

16. सक्खं खु दीसइ तवोविसेसो न दीसई जाइविसेस कोई ।
सोवागपुत्तं हरिएससाहुं जस्सेरिसा इड्ढि महाणुभागा ॥
....उत्तर० XII, 37.

17. तवो जोई जीवो जोइठाणं जोगासुया सरीरं कारिसंगं ।
कम्मं एहा संजमजोगसंती होमं हुणामि इसिणं पसत्थं ॥
....उत्तर० XII, 44.

conduct, calm and clear by its own nature, for the latter alone was efficacious in washing out sins.[18]

Chapter XXV relates the Confrontation of Brāhmaṇa twins Jayaghosa and Vijayaghosa. The former had taken to the path of spiritual sacrifice based on self-control quite early in life whereas the latter was given to material sacrifices involving killing of animals and offering of oblations into the fire. Once Jayaghoṣa, the ascetic, entered the sacrificial enclosure of Vijayaghoṣa to beg food for breaking his religious fast of one month. But he was refused on the ground that the sacrificial food could be given to those Brāhmaṇas only who were learned in the Vedas, consecrated with purificatory rites and well-versed in astronomy etc. and not to a monk like him for the former alone could bring redemption to themselves and the society. Then Jayaghoṣa explains that the real sacrifice is the spiritual one, in which the sacrificer offers the oblation of his accumulated Karmas into the fire of penances and austerities.[19] Further he adds that a real Brāhamaṇa is not one born of Brāhmaṇa parents, consecrated with purificatory rites and versed in the Vedas but the one who ridding himself of anger and attachment, practises austerities and abstains from causing injury to life etc. Such a one is capable of redeeming oneself and others, not he who sacrifices animals and thereby accumulates sins.

He knocks out the bottom of all formalism of outfits and appearances by declaring that One does not become a 'Samana' by shaving off one's head, a 'Brāhmaṇa' by chanting the Vedic hymns, a 'Muni' by retiring to hermitage or a 'Tāpasa' by wearing kuśagrass. In reality one becomes a

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18. धम्मे हरए बम्भे सन्तितित्ये अणाविले अत्तपसन्नलेसे ।
जहिं सिणाओ विमलो विसुद्धो सुसीइभूओ पजहामि दोसं ॥
····उत्तर० XII, 46.

19. Vide सर्वार्थसिद्धिटीका of कमलसंयम उपाध्याय—
वेयाणं च मुहं बूहि-बूहि जन्नाण जं मुहं ।
नक्खत्ताण मुहं बूहि-बूहि धम्माण वा मुहं ॥
····उत्तर० XXV, 14.

अग्गिहुत्तमुहावेया जन्नट्ठी वेयसां मुहं ।
नक्खत्ताण मुहं चन्दो धम्माणं कासवो मुहं ॥
····उत्तर० XXV, 16.

Cf. अग्गिहुत्तमुखा यञ्ञा, सावित्ती छन्दसो मुखं ।
राजा मुखं मनुस्सानं, नदीनं सागरो मुखं ॥
नक्खत्ताणं मुखं चन्दो, आदिच्चो तपतं मुखं ।
पुञ्ञं आकङ्खमानानं, सङ्घो वे यजतं मुखन्ति ॥
····सुत्तनिपात, सेलसुत्तं (21-22)

'Samana' by equanimity, a 'Brāhmaṇa' by continence, a 'Muni' by knowledge and a 'Tāpasa' by austerities.[20]

He further postulates that by karma alone one becomes a Brāhmaṇa, a Kṣatriya, a Vaisya or a Sūdra.[21] Here the main contention is about the Brāhmaṇa and the rest Viz. Kṣatriya, Vaiśya and Śūdra have been added just to universalize the proposition.[22] It is not meant here that caste is to be determined by occupation and not by birth. Not only in the Uttarajjhayaṇa but perhaps in the whole range of the Āgama literature there is no example of inter-change of occupations or inter-marriages which would have evinced the urgency of breaking the barriers of castes and forming a casteless society. On the contrary a Gotrakarma has been conceived which is responsible for determining high or low origin in subsequent births. It is by virtue of one's conduct in the previous life that one is born as a Kṣatriya or a Caṇḍāla or a Bukkasa.[23]

Since one's caste-status depended on one's own conduct in the previous life, and could be further improved by good conduct and austerities, one need not bemoan one's low origin. It should be accepted as a reality of life—a reality for which the subject himself is responsible and no one else. Any envious tendency may swerve him from his highest goal viz. emancipation. Sambhūta as a Sopāka ascetic, had coveted the grandeur of a king. He became a king no doubt, but the track of spiritual well-being was lost in the wilderness of physical gratifications.

From the Gotrakarma theory it accrues that the caste hierarchy was headed by the Kṣatriyas with the Cāṇāḍālas and the Bukkasas at the bottom. True Brāhmaṇas were the abandoners and conversely all true abandoners were Brāhmaṇas whatever their origin—the most detached soul,

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20. न वि मुण्डिएण समणो न ओंकारेण वम्भणो ।
न मुणी रण्णवासेणं कुसचीरेण तावसो ॥
समयाए समणो होइ वम्भचेरेण वम्भणो ।
नाणेण य मुणी होइ तवेणं होइ तावसो ॥
····उत्तर० XXV, 31, 32.

21. कम्मुणा वम्भणो होइ कम्मुणा होइ खत्तिओ ।
वइस्सो कम्मुणा होइ सुद्दो हवइ कम्मुणा ॥
उत्तर० XXV, 33.

22. ब्राह्मणप्रक्रमेऽपि शेषाभिधानं व्याप्तिदर्शनार्थम् ।
सर्वार्थसिद्धि टीका.

23. एगया खत्तिओ होइ तओ चण्डालवोक्कसो ।
तओ कीडपयंगो य तओ कुन्थुपिवीलिया ॥
उत्तर० III, 4.

viz. the Tirthaṁkara, being the greatest of all Brahmaṇas.[24] As regards occupations it seems that the conventional ones were acceptable with certain reservations. It has been said that a Kṣatriya, by his innate nature was attached to power and possession[25]. But he was not only free to renounce his attachment but it was his most sacred duty to do so at the earliest opportunity and take to ascetic practices. This ideal has been established in the ballad of King Nami (Uttar. IX) where a ruling monarch abdicates and decides to become a monk though besought to retain the sceptre and perform chivalrous and heroic acts worthy of a kṣatriya.

A pious householder's life is suggested to Nami as an alternative to total renunciation; through the observance of Pratimās[26]. a householder too could *gradaully rise to total renunciation.* But he prefers to become a houseless ascetic then and there. Rathanemi (Uttar. XXII) invites Rājimati to enjoy the pleasures of the householder's stage of life and thereafter practise asceticism.[27] But she rejects it as infirmity. Similar advice is given by Mṛgā to her son.[28] But he convinces her that the sooner worldly life is abandoned the better. Sons of the priest Bhṛgu propose to renounce the world in their childhood. The father objects—those who are learned in the Vedas hold that there is no salvation for the sonless one. He advises them to read the Vedas, enjoy the pleasures of life, beget sons and then having entrusted their worldly affairs to their sons, they could retire to hermitage. But they disregard their father's advice and renounce the world in the first stage of their life.[29]

Thus there is not only the freedom but also a constant encouragement to practise asceticism on all levels and stages of life. But what is much more

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24. vide उवासगदसाओ—सद्दालपुत्तज्झयणं ।

25. एवं आवट्टजोणीसु पाणिणो कम्मकिब्बिसा ।
न निविज्जंति संसारे सव्वट्ठेसु व खत्तिया ॥
उत्तर० III, 5.

26. सम्यग्दृष्टि, व्रत, सामायिक, प्रोषधोपवास, सचित्त त्याग, रात्रिभोजन त्याग, ब्रह्मचर्य, आरम्भत्याग, परिग्रह त्याग, अनुमति त्याग, उद्दिष्ट त्याग ।

27. एहि ता भुंजिमो भोए माणुस्सं खु सुदुल्लहं ।
भुत्तभोगी पुणो पच्छा जिणमग्गं चरिस्समो ॥
उत्तर० XXII, 38.

28. भुंज माणुस्सए भोगे पंचलक्खणए तुमं ।
भुत्तभोगी तओ जाया पच्छा धम्मं चरिस्ससि ॥
उत्तर० XIX, 43.

29. उत्तर० XIV.

important than this is the insistence on rationalization of religious conduct. Keśikumāra Śramaṇa was perturbed over the transition from the system of the four restraints preached by Lord Pārśvanātha to that of the five teachings of Lord Mahāvīra. His other anxiety was about the outfit of a monk; in the former system a monk was allowed to wear two pieces of garment but in the latter complete nudity was the rule. Gautama, a direct disciple of Lord Mahāvīra explains to him that the variation was brought about to make the system effective for the contemporary followers who, in mental make-up had considerably deviated from their predecessors. In short, rules of religious conduct had to be amended according to the circumstances. As regards wearing clothes or remaining sky-clad, Gautama says that it had no deeper significance. It was meant for distinction, for awakening confidence in others and awareness in one's ownself and also to meet the exigencies of ascetic life.[30] In reality the means of emancipation—right knowledge, right faith and right conduct, and in the ultimate analysis outfit or any other physical appearance or mark could not be considered the organic constituent of right conduct.[31] This is further corroborated by Verses 12 and 13 of the chapter on Forbearance (Parīsaha II) where it has been said that a monk should be unconcerned about clothes or no clothes.[32] A Verse in the last chapter (XXXVI) vouchsafes emancipation to women, men, eunuchs, Jaina and non-Jaina houseless ascetics and householders all, of course on the basis of their respective good conduct.[33] Pious family life is held better than robed hypocrisy. External marks and appearances like garment of animal-hide or rags, nudity, matted locks, shaved head or living on begged food do not bring salvation, self-control alone does.[34]

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30. पच्चयत्थं च लोगस्स नाणाविह विगप्पणं ।
जत्तत्थं गहणत्थं च लोगे लिंग पओयणं ॥
उत्तर० XXIII, 32.

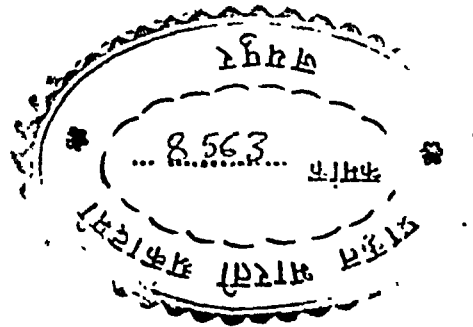
31. अह भवे पइन्ना उ मोक्खसब्भूयसाहणा ।
नाणं च दंसणं चेव चरित्तं चेव निच्छए ॥
उत्तर० XXIII, 33.

32. परिजुण्णेहिं वत्थेहिं होक्खामि ति अचेलए ।
अदुवा सचेले होक्खामि इह भिक्खु न चिंतए ॥
एगयाऽचेलए होइ सचेले आवि एगया ।
एय धम्महियं नच्चा नाणी नो परिदेवए ॥
उत्तर० II, 12, 13.

33. इत्थी पुरिस सिद्धा य तहेव य नपुंसगा ।
सलिंगे अन्नलिंगे य गिहिलिंगे तहेव य ॥
उत्तर० XXXVI, 49.

34. चीराजिणं नगिणिणं जडी संघाडिमुण्डिणं ।
एयाणि वि न तायन्ति दुस्सीलं परियागयं ॥

The monk whose only concern is shaving the head and who is not mindful of his vows is worthless like counterfeit coins or imitation gems. His desire to go naked is meaningless; he loses both here and hereafter.[35] All these facts reinforce the spirit of 'One does not become a 'Samana' by shaving off head etc'.

Thus in the Uttarajjhayaṇa we find a constant endeavour to prune away unwanted growth of formalism lest they obscure the spirit of religious conduct. But pruning has to be repeated from time to time because formalism has an inherent tendency to overgrow.

पिण्डोलए व दुस्सीले नरगाओ न मुच्चई।
भिक्खाए वा गिहत्थे वा सुव्वए कम्मई दिवं॥

उत्तर० V, 21, 22.

35. चिरं पि से मुण्डरुई भवित्ता अथिरव्वए तवणियमेहि भट्ठे।
चिरं पि अप्पाण किलेसइत्ता न पारए होइ हु संपराए॥
पोल्ले व मुट्ठी जह से असारे अयन्तिए कूडकहावणे वा।
राढामणि वेरुलियप्पगासे अमहग्घए होइ य जाणएसु॥
कुसीललिंगं इह धारइत्ता इसिज्झयं जीविय वूहइत्ता।
असंजए संजयलप्पमाणे विणिघायमागच्छइ से चिरं पि॥

उत्तर० XX, 41-49.

GEOGRAPHICAL AND ECONOMIC STUDIES IN THE MAHĀBHĀRATA : UPĀYANA PARVA

BY

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(Continued from December, 1943).

The wine from Makrān which came to Yudhiṣṭhira's court was manufactured from the fruits, probably from the dates,[150] though Panjgur grapes are famous and very cheap at the height of the season.[151] The trans-Indus people also brought woollen, blankets and shawls which probably included *namadas* or felt for which Khāran is famous.[152] The rugs of Makran however are of inferior quality.[153]

Prāgjyotiṣa : M.B., II, 47, 12—14. In some passages Prāgjyotiṣa is called a Mleccha Kingdom (M.B., II, 47, 12) ruled over by Bhagadatta who is spoken with respect. Prāgjyotiṣa was placed in the north (M. B., II, 23, 19-19), but was also considered to be in the east (*Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* VII, 44). There must have been mountains near his kingdom as it is called Śailālaya (*Strī parva*, XXIII, 644). Bhagadatta recruited his troops (M.B., II, 23, 19) from the Kirātas, Cīnas and the soldiers who dwelt on the sea-coast. He is said to have lived with the confederacy of the kings on the Bay of Bengal (*M.B.*, V, 4, 11). The country of Prāgjyotiṣa is represented by Assam, and probably some part of Northern Bengal.

Bhagadatta, the King of Assam presented to Yudhiṣṭhira fleet horses (MB., II, 47, 13), and the vessel made of *aśmasāra* (M.B., II, 47, 14) which is probably amethyst and is probably the same as *aśmagarbha* which with

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[150] *Ib.*, p. 165.
[151] *Baluchistan Gaz.*, VII. p. 165.
[152] *Ib.*, Vol. VIIA, p. 116.
[153] *Ib.*, Vol. VII, p. 222.

musāragalva is mentioned as a semi-precious stone in the *Divyāvadāna* (II, p. 51, ll.. 24-25). In modern times the Indian sources of amethyst is Ceylon, though the rivers of India sometimes yield amethyst in the form of pebbles. In Pliny's time India, however, was the most renowned source producing four kinds of amethyst, purple, inferior sapphire-coloured, very pale and wine red.[154] The claim of jadeite as *aśmasāra* also cannot be excluded. Jade is known as *masāragalva* with its/ Sanskrit form *masāragarbha* (other forms *musāragallá*, *musāragalva;* Pālī *ma(u) sāragalla* and Burma, in the neighbourhood of Assam which represents the ancient Prāgjyotiṣa, is the chief source of the supply of jadeite.

In the *Ratna Saṁgruha,*[155] (S. 18) the Maṣārgarbha is accredited with the property to separate milk and water. It is said to be dark blue or green in colour. In Chinese it is called Kan-che-yü or violet stone which connects it with amethyst. The uncertain word *śyāma* used to indicate its colour may mean both green and blue and the stone therefore may be amethyst or jade.

Bhagadatta's other presents were made of swords with the handles made of pure ivory (*śuddhadantatsarūnasīn*) (M.B., II, 47, 14). Sword handles (*tsaravaḥ*) made of the horns of rhinoceros, bufflaos, the elephant tusks and bamboo roots or wood were common in Kauṭilya's time (*Arthaśāstra*, p. 111). Prāgjyotisa could well afford to present as many ivory handles as it liked as the kingdom was the home of elephants in ancient times as to-day.

Dvyakṣa (M.B., II, 47, 15). The land of the Dvyakṣas can probably be identified with modern Badakshan on the ground that the word Badakshan is nothing but the Persianised form of Dvyakṣa, both meaning 'two-eyed'. If this identification is correct then the home of

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154 Warmington, *loc. cit.*, p. 245.

155 Finot, *Les Lapidares Indien*, pp. xvii and 197, Paris, 1896.

the Kamboja should be placed in Tajekestan and the Pamirs only, and not in Badakshan as well.[156]

Tryakṣa (M.B., II, 47, 15). Not much is known about the tribe. They are placed in the north-east foot of the Tortoise in the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*[157] and are known there as Trinetras. But the arrangement of the countries with India taken in the shape of a tortoise is purely arbitrary. Is it upper Chitral called Turikho?[158]

Lalāṭākṣa (M.B., II, 47, 15). Again the information is very meagre. Could it be Ladākh? Of course the identification is a pure suggestion and depends on Ladākh being the original name of the country, its Tibetan name being Mar-yul.

Auṣṇīṣa (M.B., II, 47, 15). The epithet without home (*anirāsān*) may suggest a wandering tribe. They cannot be identified.

Romaka (M.B., II, 47, 15). The editor has chosen Bāhukān. I however prefer the variant Romakān. Rumā was the name of the salt mines (Hemacandra, *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi*, 941) and may be identified with the Salt Range in the Panjāb. The Salt Range itself is named Oromenus by Pliny[159] who notes that the kings of the country derived greater revenue from the rock-salt than from either gold or pearls. H. H. Wilson identifies Rumā (*Sanskrit-Eng. Dictionary*) with the Sāmbhar lake. In this connection it is also interesting to note that the Shins of Baltistān also call themselves Roms.[160] Probably the Romakas here denote the people of the Salt Range.

Ekapāda (M.B., II, 47, 16). Again the information is meagre. Some indication about their provenance is

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[156] *be*, two and *akṣa*, eyes.

[157] *Annals of the Bhandarkar Or. Re. Ins.*, Vol. XVII. 1935-36, Part IV, p. 337 (i).

[158] Biddulph, *The Tribes of Hindukush*, p. 60.

[159] *Hist. Nat.*, XXI, 39.

[160] Biddulph, *loc. cit.*, p. 47.

found in the *Digvijayaparva*. In Sahadeva's expedition to the south the Ekapādas are mentioned (M.B., II, 28, 47) just after the Tāmradvīpa and Rāmaka mountains (M.B., II, 28, 46). Now this Tāmradvīpa could be located somewhere in Cambay on the strength of a reference in the *Pañca-daṇḍachatra-Prabhandha*.[161] The cities which Sahadeva conquered in association with the country of the Ekapādas are Śūrpāraka (M.B., II, 28, 43—45) the modern Soparā and Sañjayantī (M.B., II, 47) the modern Sanjān also point to the direction of the home of the Ekapādas as Gujarāt, Kach and Kāthiāwār. They are specified as living in the forest (*kevalānvanavāsinaḥ*) (M.B., II, 28, 47), which proves that they were probably the ancestors of the Bhīls of Gujarāt. Megasthenes tells us an interesting story about them.[162] The Indian philosophers told him of the Okupedes, who in running could leave a horse behind. The Ekapādas, which literally means 'one legged' of which the exact Greek transcription is Okupedes, have been relegated to the realm of fiction, but there is nothing to suggest in the information available from the Mahābhārata that they were not a real people.

The above mentioned people presented to Yudhiṣṭhira gold and silver (M.B., II, 47, 16). But the Ekapādakas presented the fleet horses of multiple colours captured from the forests (*anekavarṇān āraṇyān gṛhītvāśvānmanojavān*), II, 47, 18). Apparently Kach bred as good horses in ancient times as to-day.

The Cīnas, Hūṇas, Śakas and Oḍras (M.B., II, 47, 19) are mentioned in a geographical order which has been discussed in a former section; below is given whatever information is available about them.

Cīnas, (M.B., II, 47, 19). Cīna in Indian literature seems rather to be an ethnic term, than a geographical designation. As the Chinese proper they appear in the *Sabhāparva* (II, 47, 19). They are also mentioned as

[161] *J. A.*, 1923, pp. 50-51.

[162] Meg. *Fragment*, XXIX; Strabo XV, 1, 5.

forming the retinue of Bhagadatta, the king of Assam (M.B., II, 23, 19), and here they could be taken as a people of Southern China or the Chins of Upper Burma Manu says that formerly they were Kṣatriyas (X, 43, 44) who had lost caste.

Hūṇas: (M.B., II, 47, 19). Here they are not to be confused with the later Hūṇas of the Gupta age. They should be identified with the Hiung-nu who lived in Mongolia and who in 176 B.C. drove away the Ta Yüe-Chi from their country on the northern foot of Nan-Shan mountain.

Śakas: (M.B., II, 47, 19). In the *Araṇyaka parva* (M.B., III, 186, 29-30) the Śakas with the Āndhras, Pulindas, Yavanas, Kāmbojas, Aurṇikas, Śūdra-Ābhīras, are called Mlecchas, liars and false rulers. They are generally classed with the Pahlavas, Daradas, Kāmbojas, Ṛṣikas and the Paścima-anūpakas (M.B., V, 4, 15). They also appear in the company of the Pahlavas, Daradas, Kirātas and the Yavanas. (M.B., III, 48, 20). They are placed in the company of the Tukhāras and the Kaṅkas M.B., II, 47, 26), the Śauṇḍikas and the Kukkuras (M.B., II, 48, 15). The Śakas may be identified with the Sai-Wangs of the Chinese historians, and the Śaka-Muruṇḍas of Indian literature. Their movements have been described in a previous section.

Oḍra: (M.B., II, 47, 19). The country of the Oḍras in the north-west could be located in Swat or the ancient Uḍḍiyāna.[163] Stein in his explorations of the Upper Swat discovered a fortress on the rugged hill range rising above the village of Udegram which is pleasantly situated at the foot of the hills at a point where the fertile and well irrigated riverine plain attains its widest in Upper Swat. The fortress is known among the local Pathāns as Rāja Gira's Castle. Stein's explorations yielded from the fortress walls and other signs of human habitation.[164]

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[163] Stein *Archaeological tour in Upper Swat and adjacent hills*, pp. 34-35, Mem. of the Arch. Sur. of India, No. 42.

[164] *Ib.*, p. 38.

Stein recognized in Uḍegrām the probable location of the Ora of Alexander's historians.[165] He advances tangible arguments to prove his identification.[166]. "In Uḍegrām, a compound, in which the second part *grāma* 'village' is well recognizable, the first part Uḍe-(also heard as Uḍi-) is pronounced with that distinctly cerebral medial which to European ears always sounds like *r*, and often undergoes that change to *r* also in modern Indo-Aryan as well as in Dardic languages. The temptation is great to recognize in Arrian's ORA the Greek rendering of an earlier form of this name Uḍe-, and to derive the latter itself from that ancient name of Swāt which in its varying Sanskrit form Uḍḍiyāna. Oḍḍyāna, has been recovered by Professor F. W. Thomas and M. Sylvain Lévi's critical scholarship from a number of Buddhist texts. The simplification of the double consonant *ḍḍ*, the complementary lengthening of the preceding vowel *ū* (*o*) which would explain the long initial vowel in O R A and the subsequent shortening of the vowel in modern Uḍe- (when becoming an ante-penultimate in the compound Uḍegram), all these can be fully accounted for by well known rules affecting the transition of Sanskrit words into Prākṛit and thence into modern Indo-Aryans. Nevertheless, it will be well to bear in mind that the nexus of names here described must remain conjectural until epigraphical or other evidence helps to establish it."[167] No epigraphical evidence has so far been available which could give us the ancient name of Swāt. But in the Mahabhārata the name of this country Oḍra is found from which the Greek O R A could probably be derived. This Oḍra also appears in the Rāmāyaṇa (Bengali edition). M. Lévi discusses the other reading Pauṇḍra (western recension) and Paṇḍu (unpublished MSS in Paris and Germany) and

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[165] Arrian, *Anab.* IV, 27.

[166] Stein, *An Archaeological tour in Upper Swat and adjacent hills*, p. 39.

[167] *Ib.*, pp. 40-41.

takes Puṇḍra as correct reading.[168] There is no use in changing the reading of the Bengali recension of the Rāmāyaṇa, as Oḍra also appears in the Mahābhārata as a place name in North-Western India. Oḍra therefore, according to the evidences at our disposal, was the ancient name of Swāt.[169]

The Oḍs of Panjāb might have been emigrants from Swāt country in ancient times, though now they hail from Western India and Rajputānā to Panjāb. They are vagrants and are always in search of employment on earth-work. In the Salt Range they quarry and carry stone. They have speech of their own called Oḍki. They are outcastes. They wear woollen clothes or at least one woollen garment. Though Hindu they bury their dead. They are distributed pretty generally throughout the province, but are more numerous in Lahore and along the Lower Indus and Chenab, and least numerous in the hills, and sub-mountain districts.[170]

Vṛṣṇi: (M.B., II, 47, 19). According to the ancient traditions the Vṛṣṇis should be situated somewhere in Kaṭhiāwār probably in the region of Dvārakā. But in the *Upāyanaparva* they are linked with the Hārahūras and the Haimavatas (*ib.*). It is interesting to note in this connection a coin of Rāja Vṛṣṇi published by Cunningham[171] along with the coins of the Audumbaras without comment. This is a coin unique in every way. The obverse is a pillar mounted by an animal half-lion and half—elephant, above which is a Nandīpada. The reverse is an elaborate wheel. The legend in Brāhmī on the obverse and Kharoṣṭhī on the reverse is the same on both the sides with slight dialectic differences. According to Mon. A. Bergny[172] the legends read as follows:

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[168] J. A., Jan. Feb. 1918, p. 126.

[169] For various reference to Uḍḍiyāna see, *J. A.*, 1915, Jan.-Feb., pp. 105—110.

[170] Ibbetson, *The tribes & castes of Panjab and N.W.P.*, p. 318.

[171] *Coins of ancient India*, p. 70, Pl. IV, 15.

[172] *J.R.A.S.*, 1900, pp. 416—421.

Brāhmī: -*Vṛṣṇ* (-) *r* (*ā*) *jajñāgaṇasya tratarasya.*

Kharoṣṭhī: *Vṛṣṇirajāṇṇa* (*ga*)—*tra* . . . .

Mr. Allan reads the inscription as *Vṛṣṇi-r*(*ā*) *jajño-gaṇasya tratarasya*. His suggestion is that *rājāño* or *rājajñā* may be an engraver's mistake for *rājanyo*[173] in that case the legend means 'the protector of the tribe Vṛṣnirājanya' or 'of the protector of Rājanya (or warrior) tribe of Vṛṣṇis. The coin belongs to the first century B.C. and presumably it may be assigned to northern Panjāb. It is very difficult to point out the location of the Vṛṣṇi tribe on the basis of a single coin which also shows that the republic at least in the first century B.C. was not such an important force. It is a well known fact that Kukuras were one of the members of the Andhaka-Vṛṣṇi confederation, and if the Khokharain in Dasūya Tahsil in Hoshiārpur District be the home of the ancient Kukuras then their confederate Vṛṣṇis should be located somewhere in Hoshiārpur District or near about. In this connection it is interesting to take note of a subsect of the Vaiśyas known as Bārah-senī which term according to the popular etymology means *bārah* 'twelve', and *sena* 'an army'. They are found chiefly in the western districts of U. P. They state that their original home was in Agrohā.[174] In the Panjāb they are found in Gurgāon. Curiously enough they are described by Rose[175] as descended from the Chamārs as their boys at the marriage ceremony wear a *Mukuṭa* of *dhāk* leaves into which a piece of leather is fixed. The modernised Bārahsenī youths write Vārṣṇeya after their names. Naturally our attention is drawn to the possibility of the Barah-senīs representing the ancient Vṛṣṇis. Their modern profession need not stand in the way of identification with the ancient Vṛṣṇis, a warrior

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[173] Allan, *loc. cit.*, pp. clv—vii.

[174] Crookes, *The tribes and castes of the North-Western Province and Oudh*, Vol. I, p. 177.

[175] Rose, *loc. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 60.

class. As remarked by Dr. Jayaswal, it is a common phenomena in the career of Indian republics that when the republicans lost their political power they still retained their commercial intelligence and thereby turned into traders. As examples he has quoted the Khatris of Sindh and Panjāb and the Aroḍās who were the members of warrior class in ancient times, but turned traders after the loss of their political power.[176]

Hārahūra: (M.B., II, 47, 19; III, 48, 21; *Śāntiparva*, 65, 2430). It is included among the countries of the West. Among the variants given is Hārahūra which is probably correct, as it is supported by other evidences. In the *Arthaśāstra* (p. 133) the grape wine called *madhu*, and its varieties *Kāpiśāyana* and *Hārahūraka*, both expressing geographical denominations, are praised. Hemacandra (*Abhidhāna-cintāmaṇi*, V, 1155) gives the synonyms for grapes as *drākṣā*, *mṛdvīkā* and *Hārahūrā*. In these synonyms *Gostanī* and *Hāra-hūrā* are toponymous. Grape is not an Indian fruit, and formerly it was sold in small boxes by the Afghān vendors from Kābul. When India was culturally connected with Khotan, the raisins of Khotan could be exported to the south of the Himālayas. The grapes of Khotan, specially of Boghazlangar near Kéria, are famous even to-day. According to Grenard the Turfan grapes are best in the world.[177] Likewise the word Hārahūrā classed as synonymous of Gostanī by Hemcandra and Halāyudha (II, 38) denotes the place of its origin. In the *Digvijayaparva* (M.B., II. 29, 11) the Hārhūrās are taken as a western nation and are coupled with the Rāmaṭhas. Varāhamihira (*Bṛ. Sam.* XIV, 33) places the Hārahūra country as contiguous with the country of the people of the Indus basin (Sindhu-Sauvīra) and Madra. Now Ramaṭha with which Hārahūra is coupled also means in Sanskrit asafœtida, the product

[176] Jayaswal, *Hindu Polity*, Part I, p. 59, fn.

[177] Grenard, *Le Turkestan et le Tibet*, p. 176, in *Mission Scientifique* (Dutreuil de Rhins) *dans la Haut Asie*.

adopting the name of the country, and as asafœtida is produced in South Persia, Baluchistān, Afghānistān, Bokhāra and as far south as the Chenab Valley, the Ramaṭha country should be located somewhere in these regions. M. Lévi gives its situation between Ghazni and Wakhan,[178] though he has not adduced arguments in favour of this location. Yuan Chwang mentions asafœtida as a product of the Helmand Valley[179] which flowed through Tsau-ku-t'a or ancient Arachosia, but this country could not be Ramaṭha, as the original Sanskrit name of Arachosia was Jāguḍa,[180] which has also been mentioned with Ramaṭha in the *Mahābhārata* (III, 48 21). The Ramaṭha country therefore may be identified with Kharān District of Kalāt State, which grows asafœtida and is also contiguous with ancient Aria (Herat) and Arachosia (Kandhār). If these identifications be correct then Hārahūras may be located in Herat which produces grapes of the best quality. Herat is famous for its grapes. The fruit gardens of Herat, at least in the 10th century were famous. These gardens were situated at a day's journey on the route to Seistan.[181] On three days' journey from Herat there was a city named Karūj also famous for its fruit gardens. The famous Kishmish vine was grown there, and the far famed raisins of Herat were the dried grapes of these gardens which were sent to Iraq and other places. There was yet another garden at Malin, a day's journey from Herat which produced grapes in very great quantities.[182]

Now *hara* in the compound Hārahūra meaning mountain in ancient Iranian[183] (Old Persian, *ara;* Zend. *hara,* Pehlvi, *har*) may be expressive of the mountainous nature of the country. In the sculptures of Sargon's palace at

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[178] *J. A.*, Jan.-Feb., 1918, p. 126.
[179] Watters, *loc. cit.*, p. 264.
[180] *Ib.*, Vol. II, p. 266.
[181] Jaubert, *loc. cit.*, I, pp. 460-61.
[182] *Ib.*, p. 462.
[183] *Ind. Ant.*, XVII, p. 114.

Khorsabad, now in the Louvre Museum, certain Iranian cities are sculptured one of which is named as Harhār, which recalls modern Khalkhāl.[184] It was situated in the lake Urmiya region in the extreme north-west of Iran. Was the name of this city transferred at some later date to a city in west Afghānistān-Herat, Haraiva of the ancient Iranians and Aria of the classical authors? The origin of Herat must be traced from the ancient Iranian literature, before it could be finally identified with Hārahūra.

Haimavatas: M. B., II, 47, 19. They are called the bronzed Haimavatas (*kṛṣṇānhaimavatān*). Himavanta is quite a famous place in the Buddhist literature. Majjhima propagated Buddhism in the Himavantapadesa (*Mahāvaṁsa*, Chap. XII). It has been identified with some as Tibet; Fergusson identified it with Nepal. In the *Sāsasanavaṁsa* (p. 13) it is stated to be Cīnaraṭṭha. Prof. Rhys Davids places it in the Central Himālayas. Its extent (*Papañcasūdanī*, II, p. 6) is given as 3000 yojanas.[185] In the relic caskets from Sonāri and Sānchī the inscriptions of the 2nd century B. C. mention the Saint Kāsapagota who is described as *sava-Hemavatācariya*—the epithet which has been taken by scholars as a reference to the Buddhist saint being sent to the Himālayas (*Mahāvamsa*, p. XIX). But according to Majumdar quotating Kern[186] Haimavata was also a religious order of the Buddhists.[187] In the classical literature one of the spurs of Emodos, Imaus, meaning in the native language snowy[188] is mentioned. In a footnote McCrindle gives the variants of Emodos, as Emoda, Emodon and Hemodes. Lassen derived the name from Haimavata. If this be so

[184] Herzfeld, *Arch. History of Iran*, p. 14, Fig. 4.

[185] B. C. Law, *Geography of Early Buddhism*, p. 27, London, 1932.

[186] *Mannual of Buddhism*, p. 111.

[187] *Sānchi*, Vol. I. p. 292.

[188] Meg. *Frag.* lvi. Pliny, *Nat. His.* VI, 21, 8—23, 11; McCrindle *Ancient India*, pp. 131-132.

Hemodos would be the correct form. Imaus represents the Sanskrit Himavata. The name was applied at first by the Greeks to the Hindukush, and the Himalāyas, but in the course of time transferred to Bolor Range. This chain, which runs north and south was regarded by the ancients as dividing northern Asia into Skythīa extra Imaus and it has formed for ages the boundary between China and Turkestan.

The representatives of the countries mentioned above broubht with them the products natural to their countries. The first item on the list is ten thousand black-necked heavily built donkeys (M. B., II, 47, 21) (*kṛṣṇa-grīvānmahākāyān*), which could cover a distance of hundred *krośas* (*śatapātinaḥ*) and whose breed was famous all over the world (*dikṣu viśrutān*) and who were also well trained (*vinītān*). That no stigma was attached to the donkeys in those days is shown by the fact that the maternal uncle of Bharata, at the time of the departure of his nephew to Ayodhyā presented to him fast going donkeys (*Rāmāyaṇa*, II, 70, 23, Bombay Ed.),

The second item on their list of presents consisted of fabrics manufactured in Vāhlīka and Cīna (*vāhlīcīna-samudbhavaṁ*) (M.B., II, 47, 22), which were of appropriate measurements, of good colours, and pleasant to touch (*pramāṇarāgasparśāḍhyam*). The fabrics made of wool (*aurṇam*), of the *raṅku* goat's hair (*rāṅkavam*) of silk (*kīṭajam*) and of fibre (*paṭṭajam*), all made their appearance in the presents. Here the adjective *rāṅkava* needs some explanation. The word *raṅku* is usually explained in the dictionaries as 'a deer' (*rāṅkavam mṛgaromajam, Amarakośa*, II, 6, 111). But the *raṅku* explained as a deer is not correct as no fine cloth was ever woven out of deer's wool. It should be identified with the Rang goat which flourishes in the steppes of the high Pamir plateau. It affords a very fine shawl-wool.[180]

[189] Wood, *A Journey to the Source of the Oxus*, New Ed., 1872, *in the Introductory Essay by Yule—The Geography and History of the Upper Waters of the Oxus*, p. LVII.

From the *rāṅku* goat's wool *rāṅkava kaṭa* or felts were also prepared (M.B., III, 225, 9). It should also be noted that the Indians in this period were also acquainted with the Chinese silk which came to India through Bactria. The appearance of Chinese silk even at such early period in the Indian market need not cause any surprise. A piece of Chinese silk with a trader's memorandum written on it in Brāhmī, which was discovered at a ruined watch-station on the old Chinese Limes, is a strong argument in favour of the view that traders from India coming for silk, had already reached the limes in the latter part of the first century B.C.[100]

The third item on the list of presentations consisted of felts (*kuṭṭīkṛtam*) (M.B., II, 47, 23), thousands of lotus-coloured woollen garments (*kamalābham sahasraśaḥ*), and other textile pieces of smooth texture not manufactured from cotton (*ślakṣṇam vastramakārpāsam*) which probably shows that they were made of wool or silk, lamb pelts (*āvikam*) for which Eastern Afghānistān is famous even to-day and other soft skins. The high quality of the Chinese hides and furs were maintained even as late as the first century A.D. The *Periplus* says that the Chinese hides and furs were exported from Babricon[101] on the Indus. Pliny[102] says that the dyed skins obtained from the Chinese were most valuable of the coverings furnished by animals. In the opinion of Warmington they were partly of Indian and Tibetan and partly of Chinese origin.[103] The presents probably included as the adjective *kamalābhaiḥ* implies the gaily coloured rugs of Upper Swāt. The *Mahāvāṇijajātaka* (Jāt. 493) (IV. 352, 1. 15) mentions among the articles of great value such as gold, silver, pearls, beryls, the cloths from Kāśī

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[100] Sir A. Stein, *Asia Major*, Hirth Anniversary Volume, 1923, pp. 367—72.

[101] Schoff, *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, 39, 6.

[102] Pliny, *Nat., His.*, XII, 31; XXXIV, 145.

[103] Warmington, *loc. cit.*, pp. 157—159.

and Uḍḍiyāna *kambala*. At Torwāl even to this day are produced all the closely woven and gaily but tastefully coloured woollen blankets that India knows as Swātī rugs. They are made by the womenfolk in the side valleys of Chilli-dara, which descends to Churrai from the high snowy peaks towards Kāna and Duber on the east and to some extent also in other small valleys of Torwāl.[194]

In the fourth item of the list of presentations are included various weapons produced in the Aparānta country (M.B., II, 47, 24). Aparānta here should not be understood as Konkan country mentioned in the Nāsik inscription,[195] and in Jūṇāgaḍh inscription of Rudradāman[196] which according to Bhagwanlal Indrajit could be identified with Sopārā in the Thānā District, the most important port of Aparānta.[197] Here Aparānta has the same geographical import as mentioned in Aśoka's inscriptions. In V Rock Edict at Girnār the Aparāntas are placed by the side of the Yonas, Kāmbojas, Gandhāras and the Ṛṣṭikas. These were the states outside the empire of Aśoka[198] and were counted as the north-western tribes. In the description of the Aparānta country given in the *Divyāvadāna* (p. 19, ll. 19—25) the products of Aparānta are generally felts and skins. In the same passage we are told that there were many tribal republics in the Aparānta country which goes very well with the identification of Aparānta country in Aśoka's inscription with the various tribes living in the north-western frontier of India. In the *Mahābhārata* (*Bhīṣmaparva*, IX, 355) a people of this name are mentioned. Aparānta also appears in the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* (LVII, 36) as the

[194] Stein, *On Alexander's track to the Indus*, Lond., 1929, p. 89.

[195] *Arch. Sur. of Western India*, IV, p. 109.

[196] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. LVII, p. 262.

[197] *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. XV, p. 274, and note 3.

[198] *CII*, I, p. 10.

name of a people living on the western border. Cunningham was inclined to place them in northern Sind and part of western Rajputānā.[109]

Now coming to the weapons of the Aparānta country they consisted of sharp and long swords, scimitars and short spears (*niśitāṅścaiva dīrghāsīnṛṣṭiśaktiparaśvadhān*) and sharp edged battle-axes (*paraśūnśitān*). It is a well known fact that even today the tribal people of the North-West Frontier are expert black-smiths, and even with the most crude instruments at their disposal they are able to forge guns which are notable for their accuracy of construction. It seems they were equally famous in ancient times in the manufacture of good weapons.

In the fifth item on the list of presentations (M.B., II, 47, 25) thousand and one kinds of precious stones (*ratnāni ca sahasraśaḥ*), wines (*rasān*) and perfumes (*gandhān*) are included. In the absence of any detail we are unable to say what kinds of jewels are intended. But the mention of perfumes at once points to the musk, though it has not been specified. The musk-deer inhabits the Himālayas above 8000 ft. from Gilgit eastwards extending to Tibet, North-Western China and Siberia. There are three grades of musk, the most valued coming from China, the second grade from Assam and Nepal and the least-valued from Central Asia.[200] Apparently the best Chinese musk is implied here.

In the *Mahābhārata* (II, 47, 26) the Śakas, Tukhāras and Kaṅkas as well as hairy (*lomaśāḥ*) and horned men (*śṛṅgiṇonarāḥ*) are mentioned. Much has been said about the Śakas and the Tukhāras previously and the information need not be repeated here.

Kaṅka (M.B., II, 47, 26). They may be identified with the Kang-kü of the Chinese historians. After escaping the captivity of the Hiung-nu Chang K'ien

[109] A.S.R., Vol. XIV, pp. [illegible].

[200] Watt, *Dictionary of the Economic Products of India*, S. V. Deer.

reached Ta Yüan who gave him safe conduct on postal roads to Kang Kü, and Kang Kü sent him on to Ta Yüe-Chi.[201] The Kang-Kü or Sogdhiana (Bokhara and Samarkand) is placed by Chang Kien to the north-west of Ta Yüan (Ferghana) at an approximate distance of two thousand *lis*. "It is also a country of nomads with manners and customs very much the same as those of Yüe Chï. They have eighty or ninety thousand archers. The country is co-terminus with Ta Yüan. It is small. In the south it is under the political influence of the Yüe-Chï; in the east under that of Hiung-nu."[202]

There is also a tribe of Jāṭs in the Panjāb called Kang. This tribe is chiefly located in the angle between the Beas and Satlaj, though they have crossed the latter river into Ambala and Ferozpur and are found in small numbers all along its banks and even on the Lower Indus. Their tradition is that they came from Gaṛh Ghazni. The Kangs are said to claim descent from the Solar Rājpūts of Ayodhyā through their ancestor Jogra father of Kang.[203] What exact connection they bear to the ancient Kaṅkas, a Scythian tribe, it is difficult to say. Perhaps, they migrated to India after the Śakas had established themselves there.

Lomaśāḥ Śṛṅgiṇo narāḥ: (M.B., II, 47, 26). No fabulous beings are intended. Apparently they are some Śaka tribes in absolute state of barbarism wearing skins with the hair turned upwards and horned-head-dresses—a costume adopted by the Tibetan dancers even in present days. The primitive mode of living of Śaka tribes is impressed by Ptolemy (VI, 14).

The Śakas, Tukhāras and Kaṅkas presented fast-going horses (*mahāgamān*) which could cover great distances (*dūragamān*). There are innumerable references to the superior quality of the horses bred in the north of the

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[201] JAOS, 1917, p. 94.
[202] *Ib.*, p. 96.
[203] Ibbetson, *loc. cit.*, p. 233.

Oxus. Emperor Wu-ti of China wanted to possess Ferghana horses, the most famous being from the city of Ir-shi. The Emperor's request was however disregarded by Ta Yüan people. The ambassador who was sent to bring the horses was also killed. Incensed at this, the Emperor sent Likuang-li with the title Ir-Shï-Tsiang-Kün (General Ir-Shï) in 104 B.C. This campaign ended in failure. The second campaign was, however, successful and Yüan had to give the horses. The Chinese army took away several dozens of superior horses, besides more than three hundred stallions and mares of inferior qualty.[204] Burnes in his travels to Bukhara praises the horses of Turkestan and the countries north of the Hindukush. The Turkoman horse is a large and bony animal, but its lack of beauty is compensated by its strength and endurance. In Balkh the tradition was current that these horses had descended from Raksh, the famous horse of Rustam. A detailed description about their manners of rearing, prices, methods of training may be found in the chapter 'Horses of Turkestan,' in Burnes' work.[205]

The gifts brought by the kings of Eastern region of India: (M.B., II, 47, 28-30).

In the first category may be placed various kinds of furniture and carriages (M.B., II, 47, 28). There were valuable chairs (*āsanāni mahārhāṇi*), sedan chairs (*yānāni*) and beds (*śayanāni*) inlaid with jewels, gold and ivory (*maṇi-kāñcana-citrāṇi gajadantamayāni ca*).[206] Then there were various kinds of chariots (M.B., II, 47, 29) (*rathāṁśca vividhākārān*), furnished with gold fittings (*jātarūpapariṣkṛtān*) and covered with tiger-skins (*vaiyāghraparivāritān*), and

yoked with well trained horses.[207] In the second category of gifts are mentioned the *nārāca* and the *ardhanārāca* arrows and many varieties of weapons, variegated elephant coverings (*vicitrāṁśca paristomān*), innumerable kinds of precious stones (M.B., II, 47, 30) whose names however are not enumerated. By the foregoing details it is easy to form an idea of the high craftsmanship of the artisans of the eastern U.P., Bihār and Orissā so often alluded to in the Buddhist literature. Ivory which has been mentioned as an inlay of the furniture and the carriages was exported to Rome for ornament and decoration from the earliest times, and in the historical times Indian and African ivory satisfied the Roman demand. The region about Dorsarene (Orissa) produced the best ivory.[208]

UPAYANAPARVAN (CHAPTER 48)

The tribes described in the M.B., II, 48, 2-3 lived on the river Śailodā (M.B., II, 48, 2) which is represented as flowing between the Mt. Meru and Mandara. The *kīcaka* bamboos growing on her banks as poetically expressed afforded shelter to those tribes. The location of Śailodā is of great importance for the identification of various tribes living on its banks. It is also mentioned in the *Rāmāyaṇa* (*Kiṣkindhākāṇḍa* XLIV, 75—79). Śailodā or Śailodakā according to the *Matsya Purāṇa* (CXX, 19—13) rises at Mt. Aruṇa which is situated to the west of Kailaśa, and which flows into the Western Sea. In the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāna* (LV, 3) Śītodā (Śailodā) is placed on the west of the Mt. Meru. The situation of Meru-Mandara is however uncertain Pargiter has placed Śailodā in western Tibet (*Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, p. 351). The bearing however takes us to the north and to the Karakorum or Mustagh skriting to the north of which is the Chinese Turkestan. At the point

[207] *Jataka*, V, p. 259, Gāthas 49—50. It is interesting to note that even in the Jataka stories the chariots with tiger-skins are mentioned.

[208] Warmington, *loc. cit.*, p. 164.

where Shyok River descends to the south, facing it towards the north the Raskam or Yarkand flows through the same mountain. The Yarkand River which is also called Zarafshan and which is called Sito[209] by the Chinese, flows closely at the northern foot of the Karakoram dividing it from the Kun-lun mountains. To the east of Yarkand River is Tibet and to the west Pamirs. Perhaps, though one can never be sure this Si-to represents the Śailodā of the *Mahābhārata*. If our identification be correct than Meru becomes Karakoram and Mandara the Kun-lun ranges.

Khaśa: (M.B., 48, 3.) The Khaśas are well known to the student of Sanskrit literature. In Nepal the Gurkhas are designated as Khasa and their language is Khasa or Parbatiyā. In the south and west of Kashmir the hill regions are occupied by Khaśas. Their settlement extended as shown by numerous passages of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* in a wide semi-circle from Kaṣṭawār in south-east to the Vitastā Valley in the west. The hill states of Rājapurī and Lohāra were held by the Khasa families. The Khasas are identical with the present Khakha tribe to which most of the petty chief in the Vitastā Valley below Kashmīr and in the neighbouring hills belong.[210] According to M. Sylvain Lévi[211] Khasa or Khaśa does not indicate any particular tribe, but a number of semi-Hinduised tribes inhabiting the Himālayas. But in Central Asia the name has a special significance. The *Lalitavistara* mentions Khaśa writing which was in vogue between the countries of Dardistān and China on the upper course of the Indus, and the

frontiers of China proper. Jñānagupta who translated the life of Buddha between 589—618 glosses the word Khasa with Chou-le, *i.e.*, Kashgar. In the Tang period the equivalence of Khaśa and Chou-le is uniformly admitted.[212] Khasa in the *Upāyanaparva* are qualified by the adjective *ekāśana* (variant *ekāsana*) which probably means that they were settled as opposed to other wandering tribes.

Jyoha: (M.B., II, 48, 3.) Nothing is known about the Jyohas who were equally well settled in the same region as Khaśas. However it is interesting to note that a large *pargana* in Almora Tahsil with its northern boundary as Tibet is named Johar and is chiefly inhabit ed by the Bhoṭias.[213] Nothing is known about the origin of the name Johar, perhaps it was from very early times occupied by the migrating Jyohas who gave their name to the Tahsil, but this cannot be said with any certainty in the absence of other proofs.

Dīrghaveṇu: (M.B., II, 48, 3.) The Dīrghaveṇus as opposed to the Khaśas and Jyohas lived in a dispersed condition as the adjective *pradarāḥ* suggests. Perhaps they were a wandering tribe. Nothing further is known about them.

Paśupa: M.B.,·II, 48, 3. They were possibly a wandering tribe of herdsman, akin to the modern Kirghiz.

Kuṇinda: (M.B., II, 48, 3.) Apparently they were a very widely diffused tribe as they are also mentioned in the Tarai forests near Haradwār (M.B.. III, 141, 25) where they lived in hundreds of groups (*Kuṇindā-śata-saṁkulam*). Apparently the forest country of Subāhu abounding in elephants and horses was a veritable haven of the aborginal tribes because here rubbing shoulders with the Kuṇindas also lived Kirātas and the Tanganas (*Ib.* III, 141, 25). The Kuṇindas, also Kulindas are referred to several times in the epics and the Purāṇas

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[212] *Ib.*, p. 557, also see J. A., Jan.-Feb., 1915, p. 102.
[213] *Almora District Gaz.*, p. 249.

(*Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, Pargiter, p. 316). In Arjuna's expedition to the north the first power which he met and defeated (M.B., 23, 13-14) were the Kuṇindas. Vāgbhaṭṭa in his *Kāvyānuśāsana*, which is copied by Hemcandra (*Kavyānuśāsana*, 127) gives the name of a mountain as Kalindendra (*Himālaya-Jalandhara-Kalindendra-Kila . . . parvatāḥ*). It is curious to note that the form given by Ptolemy (VII, 1, 42) Kulindri (nē), presents the same alteration between Kuṇinda and Kulinda. He places the Kulindrinē above the source of Beas, Satlaj and Yamunā and the Gangā. *Bṛhatsamhitā* (XIV) gives variations of the same name. Kern has adopted the reading Kauṇīndra in preference to Kaulinda and Kaulindra. In the newly edited *parvans* of the *Mahābhārata* from the Bhandarkar Institute, Poona, though the editors have adopted Kuṇinda as the correct text Kulinda as a variant has always been noted down (M.B., II, 23, 13; 48, 3; III, 141, 25). At another place in the *Digvijayaparva* (M.B., II, 23, 14) the alteration between Kulinda and Pulinda are noted. Kulinda. Pulinda—an ethnic pair, are differentiated by the initial K and P. This process is unknown to Indo-European or Dravidian but a characteristic of Austric languages.[214]

Pulindas are mentioned in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (VII, 18) as a class outside the influence of the Aryans and placed with the Āndhras, Puṇḍras, Śabras and Mūtibas. They are also found in the Rock Edict XIII of Aśoka as a people on the frontier. Pulindas occupied the middle portion of the Deccan (*Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, (VII, 47), where apparently they had a city named Pulindanagara which was conquered by Bhīma (M.B., II, 26, 4). Their kingdom was situated in the massif of the Vindhya (*Bṛhatkathā Ślokasaṁgraha*, IV, 22). In the Buddhist literature they were considered as low people (*nīcakula*), barbarous (*mleccha*) and a frontier tribe (*pratyantajanapada*) (*Mahāvyutpatti*, 188,

[214] S. Lévi, *J.A.*, 1923, p. 30.

15). In the *Arthaśāstra* (3rd Ed., p. 45) the Pulindas with Vāgurikas (trappers), Śabaras, Cāṇḍālas and other wild tribes were expected to keep watch over the state. Ptolemy (VII, 1, 64) describes the Poulandai by the epithet *agriphogai* "those who lived on wild fruits". Their location is well defined. They lived in the interior of Lāṭa, in Bharukaccha, in Ujjain and the source of Godawarī, *i.e.*, on the high land of Satpura, Vindhya and Aravalli.

There is as yet another alteration of Kulinda-Pulinda in Bhūlinga. Pliny (VI, 20) names the latter as Bolingae among the people living far from Indus. Ptolemy (VII, 1, 69) places the Bolingai to the east of the Vindhya on the right bank of the Son River. Pāṇini's gaṇapāṭha takes notice of Bhauliṅgī several times (II, 4, 59; IV, 1, 41; IV, 1, 173). They formed one of the components of the Śālva federation (*Candravṛtti*, II, 4, 103). Śālvas according to Pargiter (*Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, p. 349) lived in the neighbourhood of Kuru and Trigarta at the western foot of the Aravallis.

So far we have studied the Kuṇinda (Kulinda), Pulinda, and Bhulinga trimuvarate who belonged to the same ethnic stock. The Kuṇindas, however, have left us coins. On these coins only the form Kuṇinda appears. Their coins may be divided into two groups one about the first century B.C. and the second three centuries later. The first variety bears the legend *rājñaḥ* (*raña*) *Kuṇiṁdasa* or (*sya*) *Amoghabhūtisa*; the second type gives the title Siva only. The Kuṇinda coins have been found in the district Hoshiarpur, Ludhiana and Jwālamukhī in the Panjab, and Saharanpur in the United Provinces. The distribution of these coins shows that the Kuṇindas occupied a narrow strip of land at the foot of the Siwālik Hills between the Jamuna and the Satlaj and the territory between the upper courses of the Beas and the Satlaj.

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[215] Allan, *A catalogue of the Indian Coins in the British Museum*, p. cl, London, 1936.

Taṅgaṇa: (M.B., II, 48, 3.) The Taṅgaṇas are mentioned with the Kirāṭas and Kuṇindas as inhabiting the Tarai region in the kingdom of Subāhu (M.B., III, 141, 24-25) in the mid-Himālayas. They are mentioned at another place (M.B., III, 48, 21) as a western people and linked with the Jāguḍa, Ramaṭha, Strīrājaya and Muṇḍa. In the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* (LVII, 41) they are named as Tuṅgaṇas, though the *Vāyupurāṇa* (XLV, 120) knows them as Taṅgaṇas. Like other hill tribes they fought with stones and were skilled in slinging stones (*Droṇaparva*, CXXI, 4835-47). Ptolemy (VII, 11, 13) speaks of the domain of the G (T) angnoi as lying over along the Ganges on its eastern side and further to the north and through whose domain flowed the river Sarabos. The reading has been changed to Tanganoi by St. Martin (*Etudes* . . . pp. 327-328), and this correction is probably based on the authority of the *Mahābhārata* mentioning the Tanganas in the mid-Himālayan region. They perhaps occupied the regions along the eastern bank of the Upper Ganges. Their territory probably stretched from the Ramgangā River to the Upper Saryu which is the Sarabos of Ptolemy. Their situation cannot be precisely defined in this region, as none of their cities Sapalos, Heorta and Rhappha has been identified. But there cannot be any doubt that the Tanganas also occupied the Kāshgar area in Central Asia if our identification of the Sailoda River is correct. The Tungans of Central Asia came to limelight when their rebellion in Sin-Kiang Province of China was suppressed by the Chinese Government. It seems that they are the descendants of the ancient Taṅgaṇas mentioned in this area.

Parataṅgaṇa: (M.B., II, 48, 3.) It seems that ethnically the Parataṅgaṇas or Further—Taṅgaṇas were connected with the Taṅgaṇas. Some very pertinent clues about their location are found in the *Anabasis* of Arrian (IV, 22). After capturing the rock of Choriene Alexander went himself to Bactria, but despatched Krateros

with 600 of the companion cavalry, and a force of infantry consisting of his own brigade and that of Polysperchon and Attalos and that of Alketas against Katanês and Austanes the only chief left in the country of Paraitakenai, the other forms of the name Paraitakai is also noted (Arrian III, 19; Strabo, XVII, 836). In a footnote[216] McCrindle explains that the country of Paraitakenai was located in a part of the mountainous country between the upper course of the Oxus and the Jaxartes. *Parai* in Paraitakenai as a Greek effort to pronounce the Sanskrit *parvata* is not convincing. The people are clearly the Paratañgaṇas of the Mahābhārata. It is interesting to note that a tribe of the same name occupied a part of Media (Herodotus, I, 10). The lower Helmand Valley was also known as Paraitakene before it became Sacastene.[217] Kippert's 'Asia' identifies Karategin with Paraitakenai though Yule is not sure of the identification.[218] Henry Yule proved that the great silk route to China from the Oxus to the Alai which passed through the valley of Komedai through which ascent towards Imaos is said to have led—could be no other than Karategin, the valley of Surkhab. The Kara tegin and the Surkhab Valley and its eastern continuation, the triangle of the Alai offer in fact the easiest line of communication from the Oxus to the Tarim basin.[219] Kara tegin is inhabited by the people of Turkish stock since early times, though they were being slowly ousted out by the Tajiks from Darwāz and from tracts to the west when Stein visited them.[220]

Pipīlika gold: (M.B., II, 48, 4.) The Khaśas, Jyohas, Dīrghaveṇus, Paśupās, Kuṇindas, Taṅgaṇās and

[216] McCrindle, *The Invasion of India by Alexander the Great*, p. 57.

[217] Tarn, *loc. cit.*, p. 95.

[218] J. Wood, *loc. cit.*, pp. LXX-LXXI.

[219] Stein, *On the Ancient Central Asian Tracks*, p. 293, Lond., 1933.

[220] *Ib.*, 327.

the Paratañgaṇas (M.B., II, 48, 3) presented to Yudhiṣthira heaps of *pipīlika* gold measured by *droṇas* (jars)—the gold which was presented (*varadattam*) to them by the Pipīlikas. Another variant *uddhritaṁ yat* may mean that the gold was dug from the earth by the Pipīlikas. The mention of *pipīlika* gold at once brings the recollection of the ant-gold of the Greeks, Romans, Turks and Arabs, etc. Herodotus (III, 102—105) says that the gold-digging ants belonged to Kashmīr and Afghānistān. Megasthenes (*Fragment*, XXXIX) places them on the eastern border of Derdai or the Darada country. Strabo (XV, 1, 44) and Pliny (VI, 22; XI, 36), mention the Daradas despoiling gold from ants; Aelian (de Nat. An., III, 4) makes the river Kampylinus the limit of the ant country. *Pipīlika* gold has been defined as Tibetan gold. The gold district in Tibetan history was known as Sarthol, and Thok Jalung, Rudok, Thok Nianmo and Thok Sarlung, etc., the chief gold producing centres are situated in the same district.[221] One view holds that probably the Tibetan gold miners could be identified with the gold ants. According to Herodotus (III, 102—105) the ant-gold country was a desert; Strabo (XV, 1, 44) makes them live on mountain plateaus. This is true of the country where gold is mined in Tibet. It is only in fact in the country north-east of the branch of Indus called Singh-gi-Khamba that the gold fields mentioned above are found. And in this respect Singh-gi-Khamba reminds the way in which the river Kampylinus is mentioned by Aelian (*de Nat. An.*, III, 4).

The Tibetan mines are situated at 16,330 ft., and as the cold is intense the miner at Thok-Jalung wear fur. They not only work underground, but their small black tents made of a felt-like material manufactured from the hair of the Yak are set in a series of pits, seven or eight feet below the ground surface with steps leading down into them. Megasthenes (Strabo XV, 1) mentions that

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[221] *Ind. Ant.*, IV, pp. 232—235.

the ants excavated the earth in winter which they heaped at the mouth of the pits like moles. The same statement is repeated in Pliny (XI, 36). It is a remarkable fact observed at Thok-Jalung that in spite of the severity of cold and snowy blizzards the miners prefered to work in winter as the frozen soil then stands well.[222] The Tibetans often wear Yak-skin with the horns intact,[223] this explains the presence of ants born in the temple of Hercules at Erythrae (Pliny XI, 36).

It has also been suggested that the name of ant-gold arose from a confusion of the name of a Mongolian tribe with the Mongolian word for ant-*Shirai-ghol* and *Shirgol*.[224] The name 'ant-gold' came with the gold and the name is known to the Mongolian and Tibetan sagas, and that it was the Siberian gold.[225] According to Tarn[226] the name of the ant-gold was derived from the folk-tales in which the ant-king and his subjects to help the hero collect for him a mass of little grains of something he cannot collect himself and in support of his argument he quotes two ant stories.[227] This mythical name was given by the middleman to conceal the true origin of gold. His strong opinion[228] that the Indians did not know gold mining is however entirely unwarranted by facts, as the *Arthaśāstra* (pp. 89, ff) not only mentions the various sources of gold, but prescribes elaborate formulas for its refinement.

It is difficult to say whether the ant-gold came from Tibet or Siberia, as the argument on both sides are quite strong. The gold measured by jars (M. B., II, 48, 4) however proves that it was in the form of dust and not

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[222] *Ind. Ant.*, IV, p. 230.

[223] *Ib.*, p. 231.

[224] B. Laufer, *Die Sage von der goldgrabenden Ameisen*, *T'oung Pao*, XX, 1908, p. 451.

[225] *Ib.*, p. 429.

[226] Tarn, *loc. cit.*, p. 107.

[227] Francke, *Asia Major*, I, 1924, p. 67.

[228] Tarn, *loc. cit.*, p. 108.

bars. It also proves that it was probably obtained from the river washings or from the pits dug in the soil containing gold dust. In any case the Khaśas and other tribes seem to have been the middlemen in selling the gold to India.

The other mountain tribes, besides Khaśas etc., brought black and white Yak tails (M.B., II, 48, 5).[229] Mirza Muhammud Haidar in his *Tārikh-i-Rashīdī* (16th century) while describing Tibet says that the Tibetan traders along with other merchandise consisting of Chinese goods, musk, borax, porcelain, gold and shawls, also brought Yak-tails[230] (*qūṭās*).

Those mountaineers (*pārvateyāḥ*) (M.B., II, 48, 7) also brought honey (*ksaudra*) obtained from the Himālayan flowers which was very tasteful (*bahu svādu*) (M.B., II, 48, 5) and the garland made of Ambu flowers (a kind of Andropogon) from the Uttara Kuru country (*Ib.*, 48, 6) and the powerful herbs from the north of Kailāsa.

The Uttara Kurus who play a somewhat mythical part in the Mahābhārata and later literature, are still a historical people in the Vedic period. In the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (VIII, 141) they are located beyond the Himālayas (*pareṇa Himavantam*). Zimmer places the Uttara Kurus in the Northern Kashmir the view with which Keith and Macdonell agree.[231] In the *Bhīṣmaparva* (VII, 1-14) the Uttara Kuru country is said to be inhabited by the Siddhas. The trees bear sweet fruits and are always laden with fragrant flowers. They also yield milk, food, clothes and ornaments. The ground is covered with precious stones and golden sand. All the seasons are charming. The tanks are always brimming with the

[229] Ind. Ant. XXXI, pp. 443-444.

[230] Raverty, *Tibbat three hundred years ago*, JASB, 1985, p. 9.

[231] *Vedic Index*, Vol. I, p. 84.

* The Caurī made from the Yak tail was one of the five emblems of the royalty (*rāja kakudāni*) the other being sword, umbrella crown and shoes.

crystal-clear water. The men and women are of pure birth and exceedingly handsome. They are free from diseases and live for eleven thousand years. The Uttara Kurus are also mentioned by the Greek historians (Meg. *Frag.* XXIX; Strabo, XV, 1, 57). Ptolemy (VI. 16 2 and 5) seems to have believed in its actual existence. The description of the Uttra Kuru country, 'the Paradise on Earth' perhaps created the Hyperboreans of the Greeks. It is difficult, however, to point out the location of the Uttara Kurus, even if they were historical, as their idealistic situation created by mythology has wiped out their histrocity.

Kirātas: (M.B., II, 48, 8). The word Kirāta is connected with the name Kirāti, Kirati and Kirānti which imply a native of Kirantdes on the mountainous country lying between Dudkosi and Karkī rivers in Nepal. The term includes the Khambu, Limbu, and Yakhā tribes, and the Danuār, Hayu and Thami also claim to be Kiranti.[232] It is perhaps this section of the Kirātas, whom Bhīma conquered, basing his operations from the Videha country or the modern Tirhut division, of Bihār (M.B., II, 26. 13). A very interesting description of the Kirātas and their territories is given in the *Upāyanparva* (M. B., II. 48, 8). They are mentioned as living on the northern slopes of the Himālayas (*ye parārdhe himavataḥ*) from where the sun rises (*sūryodaya girau*); they lived by the side of Vāriṣa bordering on the sea coast (*vāriṣeṇa samudrānte*) and who were also supposed to be the Lauhityas (*Lauhityamabhitaśca ye*). From the above description it is clear that the members of the kirāta tribe lived on the slopes of the Himalayas in the north, this abode of theirs being also mentioned in the *Āraṇyaparva* (III, 141, 25). In the second instance they are represented as living in a mountainous region in Eastern India; they are the Kirātas of Nepal. In the third instance they are shown living in the Vāriṣa region border-

[232] Risley, *Castes and Tribes of Bengal*, Vol. I, p. 490.

ing on sea. Vāriṣa could probably be identified with the modern Bārisāl, a sub-division of Backergunje District in Eastern Bengal. It is situated on the south-east corner of Bengal with an area of 1,110 miles and is a tract intersected by numerous rivers and water-channels. It is not far from the sea board.[233] In the fourth instance they are represented living on the Lohita *i.e.*, that the modern Brahmaputra in Bengal and Assam. A better description of the distribution of Tibeto-Burman race it would be difficult to find in the works of a modern ethnologist.

The Kirātas are represented as wearing skins (*carmavāsasaḥ*) (M. B., II, 48, 8), they lived on the tubers and fruits (*phalamūlāśanā*); the *Rāmāyaṇa* represents them (*Kiṣkindhākāṇḍa*, XI, 30) as wearing thick topknots.

The Kirāta's presents to Yudhiṣṭhira fully represented the products of their country. They brought skins, precious stones and gold (*carmaratna-suvarṇānām*) (M.B., II, 48, 9)—the gold which was picked from the mountains (*nicitam parvatebhyahśca*) (Ib., II, 48, 11)—the sandalwood, aloewood, loads of zeodary (*candanāguru kāṣṭhānām bhārān kālīyakasya ca* (Ib., II, 48, 9), and heaps of aromatics (*gandhānāmcaiva rāśayaḥ*). Assam was the home of aromatic woods as pointed out by the *Arthaśāstra*, and this fact is fully supported by the Mahābhārata.[234] The gold and the precious stones must have come from Lower Burma, the Khryse Khora or 'Golden land' of Ptolemy identified with the hinterland of the Lower Burma.[235]

The Kirātas brought the slave girls of their own race (*Kairātikānāṁ dasīnām*) (M.B., II, 48, 10) and the birds and animals from the far-off lands (*dūrajā mṛgapakṣiṇaḥ*) to serve as pets—an Indian form of amusement mentioned in the Jātakas[236] as well.

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[233] *Imp. Gaz.*, VII, p. 19.

[234] Moti Chandra, *Cosmetics and Coiffeur in Ancient India*, *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, 1940, pp. 83-88.

[235] Gerini, *Researches on Ptolemy's Geography of Eastern Asia*, pp. 64-65.

[236] *Jātaka*, I, pp. 140; 175; II, p. 132; III, p. 97, 429 etc.

Kāyavya: M.B., II, 48, 12. The variant Kāvakhya is also noted. The Kāyavyas or more correctly the Kāvakhyas were probably the race who gave Khāwak Pass its name. Probably the race inhabited the Panjshir and Ghorband valleys which pass edging the foot of the Hindu-kush and take us right to the Khāwak pass towards the east.

Darada: M.B., II, 48, 12. They are the people of modern Dardistān a term which was coined first by Leitner.[237] In Dardistan he includes all the country lying between Hindukush and Kaghan. Leitner not only included in the term the Daradas, the race inhabiting the mountainous country of Shinaki, but also Chilasis, Astorias, Hunza and Nagar people, Chitralis and the Kaffirs. In ancient Sanskrit literature, however, the term seems to have been restricted, as the names of the countries of the Chitralis, Kaffirs, Hunza are mentioned seperately. The term was restricted probably to the Darad speaking people—the Shīna speaking people of Gilgit, Gurez, Chilas and the Indus and Swāt Kohistan.[238] According to Biddulph[239] the word Darad has originated from Persian *dūed* 'a beast of prey or from *darīndah* fierce'. The name may have come to be used as an ethnological term in the same way as *dahyu* 'a robber' gave its name to Dahistān and Dahae tribe and as Kaffir, Cossack and Kirghiz are now applied to different Asiatic tribes. The term Darad is not known in Chitral.

In the *Mahābhārata* (*Droṇaparva*, CXXI. 4835—37 and 4846-7) the Darads are mentioned as a hill people the neighbours of the Kāśmīras (*Ib.*, LXX. 2435) and of the Kāmbojas (M.B., II, 24, 22); they fought with stones and were skilled in slinging stones (*Droṇaparava*. CXXI. 4835—47). According to Manu (X. 43-44) they had lost their

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[237] *The languages and races of Dardistan*. Part II, pp. 45-48 Lahore, 1877.

[238] *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. VIII. Part II, p. 3.

[239] Biddulph. *Loc. cit.*, p. 157.

Kṣatriya caste due to the extinction of sacred rites. Like Pāradas and others, they were condemned as Mlecchas (Harivamśa CXV, 6440—42). The proximity of the Daradas and Kāmbojas as mentioned above may also be seen in certain common customs, even to-day. A curious custom in this respect is recorded by Biddulph.[240] This ceremony is called *Kobah* and takes place on the arrival of a visitor in the person of some chief. He is conducted to the *Shawaran* or guest-house after which a bull is produced before the guest, who draws the sword and tries his best to cut its head off at a single blow or deputes one of his followers to do so; afterwards the carcass is given away to his retinue. The custom exists in Shighnān, Badakshān, Wakhān, Chitral, Yāsin, Gilgit, Hunza and Nagar.

Dārva: (M.B., II, 48, 12). The Dārva country has been identified[241] with the district of Jammu and Ballāvar (Ballāpur) between the Chenab and Rāvi.

Śūra: (M.B., II, 48, 12). They may be identified with the famous Sūr tribe, whose worthy member Sher Shāh played such an important part in the mediaeval history of India. Perhaps in early days the Sūrs lived in the Ghor country. After being dispossessed of their land, they became the wandering tribe in the land of Aimāks.

Vaiyāmaka: (M.B., II, 48, 12). They could be easily identified with the Aimāks of central Afghānistān. The Aimāks are the descendants of the ancient conquerors of Paropamisus and speak Persian. The Hazāras, one of their constituents speak Turkish and are probably the descendants of the Mongols settled in Afghānistān by Chinghiz Khān. They are semi-nomads, good soldiers and distinguished specially as cavalrymen. They use camel-wool tents and Ferrier was surprised to see the great number of camels which they reared and which were kept specially for wool. The mineral riches of the

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[240] Biddulph, *loc. cit.*, p. 75.

[241] Jayacandra, *Bharatbhumi aur uske nivāsī*, p. 146.

district are gold, silver, iron, lead, sulphur, rubies and emeralds.[242]

The four tribes which make up the Chāhār Aimāk are Jamshedis, Hazarās, Firozkohīs, and Taimanis. The land where they live, around Herat, is made up of a huge tableland, or uplift which is deeply eroded by centuries of river action.[243]

Audumbara: (M.B., II, 48, 12). The coins of the Audumbaras have been found and may be divided in three classes; a series of square copper coins bearing the name of the republic, a few rare silver pieces and a group of round copper billon pieces. The square copper coins are the earliest and very well known from the Irippal hoard, found at Irippal in Kāngra District.[244] The type was already known from Cunningnam's excavation at Pathānkot.[245] The name of four kings namely Śivadāsa, Rudradāsa, Mahādeva, and Dharaghoṣa are availabe. One of the coins of Dharaghoṣa bears the effigy of Viśpamitra (Viśvāmitra). Viśvāmitra's connection with the Audumbaras is otherwise unknown.[246]

On the bases of the finds of Audumbaras coins at Jwalāmukhī, Paṭhānkoṭ, Irippal and Hoshiarpur the Audumbaras should be located in the area formed by the eastern part of the modern Kāngrā district, that is to say the valley of Beas, or perhaps the wider region between the upper Satlaj and Rāvi.[247]

It is impossible to be precise in what period the Audumbaras entered in the realm of history though they are mentioned in the *Gaṇapāṭha* of Pāṇini (IV, 2, 53) near the Jālandharāyaṇas. In the *Vinaya* of the Mūlasarvāstivādıns Jīvaka is represented as taking a journey

[242] J. P. Ferrier, *Caravan journeys and wandering in Persia, Afghānistān etc.*, pp. 51-53. Edin., 1856.

[243] Holdisch, *loc. cit.*, pp. 214-215.

[244] *J.A.S.B.*, XXIII, p. 247 ff.

[245] Allan, *loc. cit.*, p. lxxxiii.

[246] *Ib.*, p. lxxxiv.

[247] *Ib.*, p. lxxxvii.

from Taxila to Bhadraṁkara, Udumbara, Rohitaka and Mathurā.[248] The Udumbaras were established on the ancient highway which passing through Śākala, Agrodaka, and Rohitaka carried the trade of the Gangetic valley to Taxila.[249]

The material prosperity of the Audumbaras which is proved by the abundant find of their coins may be attributed to their advantageous position on the highway from Magadha to Kashmīr. Besides they were conveniently situated at the point where several Himālayan valleys opened out. On account of their geographical position therefore the Audumbaras became the intermediaries between the people of the mountains and the plains. Even to this day Pathānkoṭ being the railway terminus joins the commercial routes from Chambā, Nūrpur and Kāngrā.

The local industries also helped towards the prosperity of the Audumbara country. The cloth manufactured therein was sold in the markets of Śākalā when Menender was reigning (*Kāsika-Koṭumbarakādi nānāvidha-vatthāpaṇa-sampannam*, *Milindapañha*, ed. by Treckner, p. 2). It is also mentioned in the *Jātakas*.[250] The commentator glosses the last passage *Koṭumbarānīti Koṭumbara-raṭṭhe Uṭṭhitavatthāni.* In the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* (pp. 82, verse 87), Kern gives the reading of a word expressive of certain variety of cloth *Koccairabakahamsalakṣaṇaiḥ* translated as 'choice carpets showing the images of cranes and swans'. On consulting the variant readings Przyluski[251] has proposed to restore the reading *Koṭambakair haṃsalakṣaṇair* 'the Koṭambaka cloth ornamented with the figures of geese.'

M. Pryzluski after producing various evidences philological, phonetical and ethnographical has reached the

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[248] Przyluski, *J. A.* 1921, p. 3.

[249] *Ib.*, pp. 17-18.

[250] Fausböll, *Jātakas*, VI. no 547, verse 117; VI p. 47, verse 166.

[251] *J.A.*, 1926, p. 23.

conclusion that Koṭumbara and Odumbara are the same—the alterations of the initials being due to the words belonging to Austric family of languages.[33] His conclusions are amply supported by the variants given in the *Sabhāparva* published by the Bhandarkar Research Institute (II. 48, 12). Here the variants of *Audumbarāḥ* are *Auḍumbarā*, *Auḍambarā* and *Kuṭumbarā*. This is a further proof that the initials in Odumbara and Koṭumbara alternated on the well known principal of Munda-Khmer languages.

The adjective *durvibhāgāḥ* (M.B., II, 48, 12) qualifying Audumbarāḥ needs some explanation. *Durvibhāga* taken in the sense of disunited may point to the Audumbara connections with the Sālva federation of which the Udumbaras, with the Tilakhalas, Madrakāras, Yugandharas, Bhūlingas and Śaradaṇḍas were a member (*Candravṛtti*, II, 4, 103). Or may it indicate their being a component of the Odeonbares (Nat. His. V, 17) who lived in Kach? Only more information about the history of the Audumbaras could solve this problem..

Vāhlīka: (M.B., II, 48, 12). They are mentioned as one of the Northern peoples. Śalya (M.B., I, 61, 6) is mentioned as *Vāhlīka-puṅgava*; there is another eponymous Vāhlīka king (*Ib.*, 61, 25) mentioned. The Vāhlīkas are connected with the Daradas (*Bhīṣmaparva*, CXVIII. 5484) and other ultra-Panjāb tribes (*Droṇaparvan*, CXXI, 4818). According to Pargiter there were two Vāhlīka tribes one situated in the plains of Panjab along side Madradeśa or possibly south of it, *i.e.*, between the Chenab and Satlaj, and another among the lower slopes of the Himālayas between the Chenab and Beas. The name Vāhlīka seems to have been altered in later times to Bāhika seemingly by a punning resemblance to *Vahis* "outside" because they were shut out by the Sarasvatī, Kurukṣetra and other natural features from the Madhyadeśa which

[33] *Ib.*, pp. 28-48.

remained true to Brāhmaṇas, and they and all the tribes beyond were stigmatised as impure by the Brāhmaṇas (*Karṇaparva*, XLIV, 2026; *A.S.R.*, Vol. II, pp. 6, 14, 17, 195, etc.). Properly speaking however the Vāhlīka country, the modern Balkh in northern Afghānistān represents the ancient Vāhlīka for a long time governed by the Greeks. Starting from the regions north of Hindūkush the Graeco-Bactrian empire extended first towards the east over central Asia and the Kābul region, then over the North-Western Provinces of India and the Panjāb, later it became dispossessed of its northern parts, became confined to its Indian dominions and finally disappeared in the 1st century B.C.

Balkh was the traditional home of Zorastrianism and its other name was Zariaspa (Eratosthenes, Strabo XI, 514) which may represent its great fire temple Azar-i-asp.[253] Strabo (I, 516) says that it stood on both sides of the river Bactrus, the united streams of the Band-i-Amīr and Darrah which then reached Oxus; it is possible that the second name Zariąsp was the name of one definite part of Bactria. Ptolemy (VI, II. 1—9) calls it Bactrianê. According to Strabo (VII. 50) it was the principal part of Ariana and separated from Sogdiana on the east and north-east by Oxus, from Aria on the south by the chain of Paropanisus, and on the west from Margiana by a desert region.

Kāśmīra: (M.B., II, 48, 13). The modern Kashmir State.

Kundamāna: (M.B., II, 48, 13). This country seems to be the same as Kuṭṭāparānta or Kundāparānta.[254] The Kundamāna country may be identified with Kuṭhār a *pargaṇa* of Kashmīr. The valley of the Ārapatha or Harṣa which opens to the east of Islāmābād forms the *pargaṇa* of Kuṭhār. Stein thought that the

[253] Cunningham, *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1868. p. 107.

[254] M. Williams, Sans. Eng. Dict., p. 288 and M.B., VI, 356, Cal. ed. 1836.

name could be probably derived from the ancient *tīrtha* of Kapāṭeśvara situated on the southern side of the valley close to the village of Kōṭhēr whose name has been derived from Kapoteśvara.[234] It is possible that the name Kuṇ (nār) has been derived from Kunda (māna), as Kundamāna has been linked with the Kāśmiras (M.B., II, 48, 13).

Paurakā : (M.B., II, 48, 13). The Paurakās are linked with Haṁsakāyanas. Their country may be identified with the Yāsin country in the Chitrāl Agency as the people of both Yāsin and Chitrāl are sometimes called by their eastern neighbours as Poré and their country Poriaki, from *pūr* 'the west'.[235]

The variant Ghorakāḥ is also given: this reading may also be correct. The Ghorakās may be identified with the Goruaia of Ptolemy (VII. 1. 42) which must have been the province between the Gouraios (lower Swāt river) and the Kunar, the modern Bajaur.[236] Berthelot would derive the name from Ptolemy's town Gorya, the Gorys of Strabo (XV, 697) which he places on the Kunar. Tarn however does not agree with this view as Strabo's description here is obscure and it is impossible to be sure of the Choaspes' identification with Kunar.[237] Goruaia was a Greek Province in the 2nd century B.C. in Menander's (165 B.C.—died between 150—145 B.C.) occupation.[238]

Haṁsakāyana : M.B., II, 48, 13. The Haṁsakāyana people are linked with the Paurakās, the people of Yāsin and there should be no difficulty in identifying the country of the Haṁsakāyanas with Hunza and Nagar. They are mentioned in the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* (LVII. 41) as Haṁsamārgas 'the Duck-fowlers'. They are mentioned in

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[234] Stein, *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, Vol. II, p. 467.

[235] Biddulph, *loc. cit.*, p. 56.

[236] Tarn, *loc. cit.*, p. 237.

[237] Ib., *loc. cit.*, p. 237, fn. 2.

[238] *Ib.*, p. 226.

the *Bhīṣma-parva* list (IX, 377) and seem to be the same as Haṁsapādas (*Droṇaparva*, XX, 798).

The two small Chiefships of Hunza and Nagar lie in the extreme north-west of Kashmir, on the banks of the Hunza river. Towards the north they extend into mountain range which adjoins the junction of the Hindū-kush and Muztāgh ranges; in the south they border on Gilgit; on the west Hunza is separated from Ashkuman and Yāsin by a range of mountains; while the Muztāgh range divides Nagar from Bāltistān on the east [200]

Śibi: (M.B., II, 48, 13.) An Asura king named Druma who is called a descendant of Diti ruled over the Śibis (M.B., I, 61, 8). Vārāhamihira (*Bṛ. Saṁ.*, XVI, 26) places the Śibis in the north with the Mālavas and the peole of Takṣaśilā, and the Ārjunāyanas and Yaudheyas (Ib. XVII, 19). Sibipur is mentioned in the Sherkot Inscription of the year 83 (403 A.D.). The mound of Sherkot marks the site of the capital of the Śibis. According to Curtius (IX, 41) they were not far from the confluences of Jehlum and Chenab, a fact also supported by Diodorus (XVII, 96). This agrees very well with the position of Sherkot. They are mentioned by the Greek historians as clad in skins and armed with clubs. This fact gave rise to the origin of the legends that the Śibis were descended from Herakles. The extent of their country in ancient times might have been equivalent to the district of Jhang in Southern Panjāb.

The coins of the Śibis bear the legend *Majhimikāya Śibi-janapadasa*, 'of the tribe of the Śibis of Madhyamikā.' The coins were exclusively obtained from Nagari, Chittor. Dr. Bhandarkar excavated them from the Hāthībāḍā site at Nagari.[202]

The country of the Śibis was famous for its shawls and the *Siveyyaka dussa* is praised in the Mahāvagga

[200] *Imp. Gaz.*, Vol. XIII, p. 225.
[201] *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, pp. 15-17.
[202] *A.S.R.*, 1915-16, Part I, p. 15.

(VIII, 1, 29). It is also mentioned in the Sivi Jātaka[263] where the king of Kosala is said to have presented one Dasabala with a cloth-piece from Sivi costing hundred thousand pieces of money.

Trigartta: (M.B., II, 48, 13.) The ancient Trigartta country was located between Rāvi and Satlaj with its centre round Jalandhar. It represented modern Kāngrā in ancient days. In the 7th century its dimensions, 167 miles from east to west and 133 miles from north to south, show that at that time it must have included Chambā on the north, with Mandī and Suket on the east and Śatadru on the south-east.[264]

Yaudheya: (M.B., 48, 12.) The limit of the Yaudheya country may be determined by the findspots of their coins. The coins have been found plentifully in the country to the west of Jamuna, also to the west of Satlaj in Depalpur, Satgarha, Ajudhan, Kahror, and Multān and to the eastward in Bhatner, Abhor, Sirsa, Hānsī, Pānīpat and Sonpat. The evidences of findspots show that the Yaudheyas occupied an area which may be roughly described as the Eastern Panjāb.[265]

In Junagadh inscription of Rudradāman (150 A.D.) the Yaudheyas are described as 'who would not submit because they were proud of their title of heroes among Kṣatriyas'.[266] They are identified with the modern Johiyas who occupy the banks of Satlaj along Bahāwalpur State.[267]

Rājanya: (M.B., II, 48, 13.) The existence of the tribal republic of the Rājanyas is proved by their coins. There are two varieties of coins, one with Brāhmi and the other with Kharoṣṭhi legends, those with Kharoṣṭhī legends belong to 2nd century B.C., and those with Brāhmī to first

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[263] *Jātaka*, Vol. IV, p. 401.

[264] Cunningham, *Ancient Georaphy*, p. 157.

[256] Allan, *loc. cit.*, p. cli.

[266] *Ep. Ind.*, VIII, pp. 47.

[267] *A.S.R.*, XIV, p. 140.

century B.C.[268] Most of the coins came from Hoshiārpur and the Rājanya country may be located there.

Madra: (M.B., II, 48, 13.) The Madras held a high position among the Vedic people.[269] We find that the sages of Northern India repaired to Madra country to receive instruction in Vedic learning. In the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* (III, 7, 1) Uddālaka Āruṇi told Yājñyāvalkya, "We dwelt among Madras in the house of Patañcala Kāpya, studying the sacrifice." In the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (VIII, 14, 3) a section of the Madra people, Uttara Madra, are mentioned. They lived beyond the Himālayas close to the Uttarakuras. Uttara Madra is located[270] in Kashmir.

The capital of the Madras was at Śākala[271] which has been identified with modern Sialkot. The Madras play an important role in the *Mahābhārata*, and their chief Śalya, though fighting on the side of the Kurus, had his sympathies towards the Pāṇḍavas. He had promised Yudhiṣṭhira to belittle and discourage Karṇa in the thick of the fight (M. B., V, 8, 28). He kept to his promise which extorted from Karṇa the wholesale condemnation of the Madra people already mentioned. Incidentally the morals of the Madras seem to have fallen off considerably since the Vedic days.

As mentioned in the *Candravṛtti* (II, 4, 103) Madras or Madrakāras were one of the components of the great Śālva federation. Incidentally the word Madrakāra probably indicates the Iranian element in Sālva confederacy as Madrakāra in ancient Iranian denotes a warrior.[272] The head of the Madras Śalya (M.B., I, 61, 6) is spoken off as a Vāhlīka with probable connection with the Bactrians of northern Afghānistān, who were of Iranian origin. It

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268 Allan, *loc. cit.*, p. cxxiii.

269 *Vedic Index*, II, p. 123.

270 Zimmer, *Altindische leben*. p. 102.

271 *Jātaka*, ed. Fausböll. IV. p. 230, I, 20; V, p. 283, I, 2(*Dhammapada Aṭṭhakathā*, II. p. 116.

272 Pryzluski, *J.A.*, April-June, 1929, p. 313.

is mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* (I, 27; V 4695 etc., quoted by M. Pryzluski) that Vyuṣitāśva from his spouse Bhadrā Kākṣīvatī had seven children, three Sālva and four Madra. The word Vyuṣitāśva also seems to be of Iranian origin and may be the Sanskritised form of Viśtāspa, the father of Darius.[273] The Iranian origin of the Bhadra, Madra, and Malla may also be explained from the many names of the capital of the Madras. The well-known is Śākala or derived from Śaka. The name was current during Alexander's times and hence the first Saka invasion perhaps predated the Macedonian conquest.[274]

The same city is called Bhadrapur and Bhadraṁkara or the capital city of the Bhadrakāras. Bhadraśaila mentioned in the *Mahāmāyūri*[275] is placed by M. Sylvain Lévi in Taxila but Pryzluski rejects this location and places it in Bhadrapura and Śākala.[276]

Even the costumes and personal equipments of the Madras were quite out of the ordinary which a contemporary Indian was accustomed to see. In the *Udyogaparva* (8, 3-4) the Madra warriors are represented using strange outlandish armours (*vicitra kavacāḥ*), strange banners and bows (*vicitradhvaja-kārmukāḥ*); their ornaments were strange (*vicitrā bharaṇāḥ*) and so were their chariots and other conveyances (*vicitra rathavāhanāḥ*). Their costumes and ornaments are described as befitting to the country from where they came (*svadeśaveśābharaṇāḥ*). Perhaps their equipment was akin to those of the Iranians or Bactrians.

So far we have met three components of the Sālva confederacy-Audumbaras, Madrakāras and Bhuliṅgas. In this connection one is tempted to determine the location of Sālva country itself. In the *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa* (I, 2, 9) the Sālvas are coupled with the Matsyas. Sālva is the name of a people mentioned in a passage in the *Śatapatha*

[273] *Ib.*, p. 315.
[274] *Ib.*, p. 316.
[275] *J.A.*, Jan.-Feb. 1915, p. 74.
[276] *J.A.*, April-June 1926, p. 316.

Brāhmaṇa (X, 4, 1, 10) which records a boast by Śyāparṇa Śāyakāyana that if a certain rite of his were completed his race would have been the nobles, the Brāhmiṇs and peasants of the Sālvaṣ, and even as it were his race would surpass Sālvaṣ. This people are mentioned in the *Mantrapāṭha* (II, 11, 12) as Sālvīḥ, where they are said to have declared that their king was Yaugandhari when they stayed their chariots on the banks of Yamunā. There is later evidence to indicate that the Sālvas were closely connected with the Kuru Pañcālas, that apparently some of them, at least, were victorious near the banks of Yamunā.[277] It is interesting to note the early connection of the Sālvas and the Yaugandharaṣ as later on the Yaugandharas formed a component of the Sālva confederacy. The Sālvas are mentioned thrice in Pāṇini: Sālva (IV, 2, 135), Salvāvayava (IV, 1, 173) and Sālveya (IV, 1, 169). Sālva (Pāṇini, IV, 3, 166; *Vārttika* 2; Patañjali, V, 50) means the fruit of Sālva plant; this perhaps shows the totemic origin of the Sālvas. In the *Mahābhārata* (III, 13, 29) the Sālva King is called *Saubhapatiḥ* and *Saubharāḍ* (Ib., 17, 32); the capital of king Sālva is called Saubha (*Sālvasya-nagaram Saubham*, M. B., III, 15, 2) and the people as Saubha (M.B., III, 13, 29). It may be that Sopiethes of the Greek historians whose original form Sobhūta, or Saubha has been restored by M. Lévi,[278] was probably a Sālva King. Among the names mentioned in the *gaṇapāṭha* on Saṁkala (Pāṇini, IV, 11, 75) Subhūta (No. II) is given which by the virtue of the rule gives Saubhūta the name of a people. The prince of the country was named after the name of his kingdom and therefore Sophytes or Sopiethes King of the country of Saubhūta. The *Mahābhārata* makes it clear that besides Subhūta, there was another form Subha, and that Saubha an epithet of King Sālva was derived from the latter. Another point which also becomes clear is that Saubha or

[277] *Vedic Index*, Vol. II, p. 440.
[278] *J.A.*, Series VIII, Vol. XV, pp. 237-39.

Sopiethes of the Greek historians was a Sālva and that the Audumbars, Tilakhilas, Śaradaṇḍas, Yaugandharas and Bhuliṅgas the components of the Sālva confederacy, were probably under the influence of Sopiethes or Saubha country. The theory of M. Pryzluski that as the Sālva confederation had Madras, and Audumbaras, an aboriginal tribe, Sālva is another name for Ksudraka-Mālava confederacy on the basis of the equivalence of Madra with Mālava and Kṣudraka or small which according to him indicated the lesser status of an aboriginal partner, does not appear to be correct.[279]

Now let us examine at some length the information about Sopiethes gained from the Greek sources. (Arrian, *Anab*, VI, 11; Didorus XVII, 91-92; Curtius, IX, 1; McCrindle, *The invasion. . .* pp. 219-221). They place the dominion of Sopiethes between the upper Rāvī and the Hyphasis (Beas), but in the account of Arrian[280] it is transferred to a more western position. Strabo was unable to decide where that kingdom lay. "Some writers place Kathaia and the country of Sopiethes one of the monarchs between the rivers Hydaspes and Akesines, some on the other side of Akesines and Hyarotis on the confines of the territory of the other Poros, the nephew of Poros who was taken prisoner by Alexander and call the country subjeit to him Gandaris. It is said that in the tertory of Sopiethes there is a mountan composed of fossil. salt sufficient to whole of India. Valuable mines, also, both of gold and silver are situated it is said, not far off among other mountains, according to the testimony of Gorgos the miner.[281] Curtius that the government of the dominions of Sopiethes was good. He mentions a curious custom by which deformed children were put to death.[282] He also describes the tall and handsome person-

[279] *J.A.*, April-June 1929, p. 314; see also *J.A.* 1926, pp. 9-1.
[280] McCrindle, *loc. cit.*, p. 133.
[281] McCrindle, *loc. cit.*, p. 133, *fn.* 2.
[282] *Ib.*, *loc. cit.*, p. 219.

ality of the king and mentions the noble breed of dogs which the country possessed and how they could kill even lions.[283] Diodorus mentions the cities that were subject to the sway of Sopiethes, and the salutary laws and the praiseworthy political system of the country. Beauty was held among them in high estimation. They selected their brides for their looks. He also mentions the breed of dogs.[284]

Now let us examine the positions of the components of Sālva confederacy and show what light they throw on the location of the Saubha or the Sālva country. The Audumbaras may be located in Pathānkot region. Yaṅgandhara which is also called a gateway to Kurukṣetra (*dvāra-metaddhi Kaunteya Kurukṣetrasya Bhārata*, M.B., III, 129, 9) may be identified either with the Jhind State, or the southern Panjab States lying to the north-west of Delhi. The position of Tilakhala is un-determined. Bhulinga (*Rāmāyaṇa* Bengali ed. II, 70, 15) fell in the way of the messengers sent by Vasiṣṭha to bring back Bharata from the Kekaya country, after they had crossed the river Sarasvatī and the river Śaradaṇḍā, and although the city cannot be identified their country perhaps lay on the upper courses of the Beas and Satlaj. Madrakāras of course lived in the district of Sialkot. The country of Śaradaṇḍas may be identified with the district of Sirhind, and included a considerable portion of hill states to the west and south of Simla, together with Sirhind proper and Ludhiana in the plains.[285]

Now where were the Sālvas located? Cunningham places their capital at Bhīrā to the west of Jhelum.[286] This seems to be improbable as all the Greek historians seem to place it to the east of Jhelum. The Sālvas according to Pargiter (*Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, p. 349) lived in the neighbourhood of the Kurus and Trigartas on the western

[283] *Ib.*, p. 220.
[284] *Ib.*, pp. 277-81.
[285] Cunningham, *Anc. Geo.*, p. 169.
[286] *Ib.*, p. 178.

foot of the Aravalli hills. This could be true in the Vedic period as already mentioned when the Sālvas are coupled with the Matsyas, but in comparatively latter historical times they seem to have moved further north if the Mahābhārata and other Greek sources are to be believed. The latest view places Sangala, the capital of Kaṭhas, the neighbour of Saubhūtas[287] in Gurudaspur district (Lahore Division), and if this conjecture be correct that the Saubha country may be placed near Amritsar. If beauty be the distinguishing feature of the Saubhas as mentioned by the Greek writers then inhabitants of Amritsar division could easily claim to be the descendants of the ancient Saubhas.

Kekaya: (M.B., II, 48, 13.) The Kekeyans are linked with the Madras. Their country has been identified with the present district of Shāhpur and Jhelum in Panjab. Cunningham (*A.S.R.*, II, p. 14) identifies Girzak on the Jhelum with Girivrja (the ancient name of Jalālpur) the ancient capital of the Kekayans. This agrees with the reference to Girivraja in the *Rāmāyaṇa* (*Ayodhyākāṇḍa*, IXX, 16, 19. Bengal ed.). It is interesting to note that among the gifts which Bharata received from his maternal uncle at the time of his departure to Ayodhyā there were dogs bred in the palace (*antaḥpuretisaṁvṛddhān*) comparable to lions in strength (*vyāghravīryabalopamān*) and possessed of strong teeth and big bodies (*daṁṣṭrāyuktān mahākāyān, Rāmāyaṇa,* II, 70, 20. Bombay ed.). This reminds us of the gifts of dogs to Alexander by Sopiethes who is also called the king of the Salt Range.[288] The possibility is that the Kekayan country

[287] *Imp. Gaz.*, XII, p. 395.

[288] The Romans supplemented their breeds of dogs by importation of Indian and Tibetan hounds. According to Herodotus (I. 1. 92) the Persians of his time kept four large villages in the plains of Babylon to feed Indian dogs. Ktesias (McCrindle, *Ktesias*, I. 9) also notices the Indian hounds of the Persians and similar dogs were shown in the procession of Ptolemy Philadelphos. We have also a papyrus of the 3rd century B.C., in which there are two separate epitaph poems written by Zenon in honour of the Indian hunting hound Tauron who had saved his life in a fight with a wild boar. (Warmington, *loc. cit.*, p. 149.).

[289] Ed. by Dr. Thomas, p. 21.

conterminous with that of the Madras was also within the political influence of the ancient Sālvas.

Ambaṣṭha : (M.B., II, 48, 14.) They are very ancient people and Ambaṣṭhya, a king of the Ambaṣṭhas has been mentioned in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (VIII, 21). Arrian (VI, 15) designates them as Abastanoi, and Diodorus (XVII, 102) calls them Sambastai. The *Bārhaspatya Arthaśāstra*[280] mentions them with the Kāśmīras, Hūṇas and Sindhus. *The Dialogues of the Buddha* (Part I, p. 109) states an Ambaṣṭha to be a Brāhmaṇa. It is evident from the Greek sources that they were settled on the lower Chenab.[200]

Tārkṣya : (M.B. II, 48, 14.) Tārkṣya in the Ṛgveda (1, 89, 6; X, 178) is mentioned as a divine steed, apparently the sun conceived as a horse. But Foy, judging by the name, apparently a patronymic of Tṛkṣi, who is known from the *Ṛgveda* onwards as a descendant of Trasadasyu, thinks that a real steed, the property of Tṛkṣi, is meant, but Keith and Macdonell do not seem to agree with this view.[201] In Khila (II, 4) Tārkṣya is represented as a bird. In the *Vājasaneyī Saṃhitā* (XV, 8) he is mentioned with Ariṣṭanemi, originally an epithet of his (R.V.I., 89, 6; X, 178, 1), as a person, and in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (XIII, 4, 3, 13) he appears as a Vaipaśyata the king of birds.[202] Tārkṣya in the *Mahābhārata* (I, 59, 39) is identified with Garuḍa. With Ariṣṭanemi, Garuḍa, Aruṇa and Āruṇi, he is described as the offspring of Kaśyapa and Vinitā.

In the *Agastīya Ratnaparīkṣā*[203] Tārkṣya is mentioned as a synonym of emerald. It is interesting to note that Hemcandra in the *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi* (V. 1064) gives among the synonyms of emerald *garutmanta* the other being *marakata*, *aśmagarbha*, and *haridmaṇi*. This con-

[200] McCrindle, *loc. cit.*, p. fn. 2.
[201] *Vedic Index*, Vol. I. p. 308.
[202] *Ib.*, p. 308, fn. 5.
[203] Finot, *Les lapidaires Indians*, p. 188.
[204] *Ib.*, p. XLIV.

nection between Garuḍa and emerald seems to have originated from the belief that the emerald was created when Garuḍa let fall the bile of Asura Bala on the earth.[294] The location of emerald mines in the Sanskrit texts on jewels is rather vague. Buddhabhaṭṭa in his *Ratnaparīkṣā*[295] places the emerald mines in the country of Barbara on the confines of the desert, near the sea-shore. According to the Agastimata[296] the mines are situated in the country of the Turuṣkas near the sea-shore; the *Agastīya Ratanaparīkṣa*[297] distinguishes two mines, one in the country of the Turuṣkas and the other in Magadha. The information about the Turuṣka mines leads us to the 'Mountain of the Emeralds' of the Classical Geographers i.e. Gebel Zabarah which is situated on the Red Sea in the neighbourhood of the Nubian desert[298]. To quote the description of Al-Idrisī about these mines: "Not far from Aswan on the Central Nile is a mountain on whose foot is situated an emerald mine. It is situated in a desert far off from the human habitation. There is no emerald mine in the world which could compare this. A large number of people work this mine to their advantage and export the emeralds outside."[299] In this connection it is interesting to note the city of Markatan situated at a distance of thirty days journey from Aswan, with a large population, where the merchants of Zalegh, a city situated on the Red Sea coast in Abyssinia, came to stay.[300] It seems probable that the Sanskrit name *Marakata* for emerald is derived from this city, which must have carried on emerald export business in ancient times with India.

Another mine has been placed in the Magadha country; this seems to be true, as emerald mine in Hazāribāgh, Bihār, has been recorded.

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295 Finot, *loc. cit.*, p. 34, s. 150.
296 *Ib.*, p. 124, s. 287.
297 *Ib.*, p. 188, ss.76-77.
298 *Ib.*, p. XLIV.
299 P.A. Jaubert, *loc. cit.*, I, p. 36, Paris, 1836.
300 *Ib.*

From the above descriptions we have seen that the word *tārkṣya*, denotes a horse, a bird, a man and a jewel. But what could be the location of the people bearing the epithet of Tārkṣya—as there should be no doubt that they were a real people mentioned by the *Mahābhārata* and not animals or birds. The equation of *tārkṣya* with the emeralds takes us to the Red Sea, and the Magadha country, but there is little possibility that these places represent the home of the Tārkṣyas.

Now we know from Yuan Chwang[302] that to the north-west of Hu-shi-kan (Juškan of the Persians) between Balkh and Merv-al-Rud was situated the country of Ta-la-kan. The country was about five hundred *li* long and 60 *li* wide and its capital was ten *li* in circuit; on the west it joined Po-la-ssu (Persia). M. Saint-Martin thought that Ta-la-kan could be identified with Talekan of Gharzestan, a city situated at the distance of three short journeys above Merv-al-Rud in the direction of Herat. Watters in this connection observes that the name which St. Martin has transcribed may have been Talakan or Tarkan (Ib.). Al-Idrisī however pronounces the word as Tālqān which he calls a city of great importance equal to Merv-al-Rūd. It was situated at the foot of a mountain which was the part of the mountain chain al-Jurqān. Its felt making industry was renowned. It was situated on the route which went from Merv to Balkh.[303] This region also yielded emeralds as observed by Ferrier.[304] Pliny's[305] best Bactrian emeralds probably came from the same area. We have already seen the close connection which the word *tārkṣya* had with horses, and in the Hazara district not far from Heart excellent horses are produced.[306] Taking these con-

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[301] Mallet, *Rec. Geol. Surv. Ind.*, VII. p. 43.
[302] Watters, Vol. I. p. 114.
[303] Jaubert, *loc. cit.*, Vol. I. p. 468.
[304] Ferrier, *loc. cit.*, pp. 51—53.
[305] Pliny, XXXVII. 62—65. especially 65, 69, 71. 79.
[306] Ferrier, *Ib.*, p. 192.

siderations into account the Tārkṣya country could be identified with the Ta-la-Kan of Yuan Chwang.

The modern representatives of the ancient *Tārkṣyas* seem to be Tarakki[307]—a tribe of Afghan Pavindas, largely nomad who winter about Kandhar or Tarakzais a clan of upper Bār Mohmand settled in the *dvab ṭappā* of Peshāwar (Ib.), but nothing definite could be said about this identification.

Vastrapā: M.B., II, 48, 14. The people are mentioned with the Pahlavas. No clue is given as regards their location. Their country, however, may be identified with the Vastrāpada of the *Mahābhārata* (III, 80, 108) in which the Pāṇḍavas after resting on the river Maladā in the Pañcanada country[308] entered. Vastrāpada or Vastrāpatha as it is called in the Prabhāsakhaṇḍa and to which thirty chapters are devoted, is used as a second name for Girnār region in Junāgadh State in Kathiāwād.[309] A curious legend is related in this connection. It is said that one day while Śiva and Pārvatī were seated on Mt. Kailasa, Viṣṇu accompanied by other gods approached him and complained about his granting boons to the *daityas*. At this complaint Śiva decided to disappear altogether from the scene and was followed by Pārvatī and other gods. In the meanwhile Śiva having reached Vastrāpatha cast off his garments, divested himself of his bodily form and decided to live there. The gods and Pārvatī also arrived there and took their seats on different hills—Pārvatī taking her seat on Ujjayanta (Girnār). In the end Śiva was propitiated by her songs in his praise and agreed to return to Kailāsa.

Pahlava: (M.B., II, 48, 14.) They are linked with Vastrapās. If our identification of Vastrapās be correct then we should search for some ancient Iranian colony in the vicinity of Junagadh State. As observed by

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[307] Rose, *loc. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 455.
[308] *Ib.*, III, 80, 105.
[309] *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IV, pp. 238—244.

Campbell the trade connection between Persian Gulf and the Western Indian sea-board must have led to the settlement from very early times of the Pahlvas[310] in Gujarāt and Kathiāwad. Curiously enough the Sudarsan lake in Junāgadh whose construction was ordered by Candragupta was completed by a Yavana Rājā Tusāspa on behalf of Aśoka.[311] Tusāspa as his name indicates must have been an Iranian. The case of minister Sviśākha the son of Kulaipa, a Pahlava, who was the Governor of Ānarta and Surāṣṭra in the time of Mahākṣatrapa Rudradāman (150 A.D.) and was personally responsible for stopping the beach in the Sudarśana Tank shows that the Pahlava community wielded considerable influence in Kāthiāwād. It is interesting to note further the connection of the officials of Iranian extraction with Kāthiāwād even in the Gupta age. Prof. Jarl Charpentier of the Upsala University[313] has shown that Parṇadatta mentioned in the Girnār inscription (453-456 A.D.) was the Governor of Junāgadh in Skandagupta's time. The inscription glorifies the deeds of Parṇadatta and his son Cakrapālita[314] when once again the embankments of the Sudarśana lake gave way. Prof. Charpentier advances argument to prove that Parṇadatta was simply an Indianisation of the Iranian word Farnadāta. The name of Cakrapālita is restored to Chakharapāta. To prove the existence of ancient Iranian colony in India Mr. Hodiwala gives a novel explanation of Raghu's conquest of the Parsis (*Raghuvaṃśa*, IV, 61 ff). According to him the conquest in question was of Ānarta and Saurāṣṭra where the Parsi colony in Western India[315] was situated.

Vasāti : (M.B., 48, 14.) They are linked with the Mauleyas who perhaps lived in the Mūla valley in Jhalawan.

[310] Campbell, *Bombay Gaz.*, Vol. I. Part I. p. 35.

[311] *Ep. Ind.*, VIII. pp. 46-7.

[312] *Ib.*,

[313] *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, 1930, pp. 282-83.

[314] Fleet, CII, pp. 56—65.

[315] *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Dec. 1930, pp. 282-83.

The Vasātis have been identified with the Ossadioi of Arrian (*Anab.* VI, 15,) who came to offer their submission while Alexander was encamped at the confluence of the Chenab and Jhelum. M. Saint-Martin places the Vasātis on the strength of Hemecandra's *Abhidhānacinatāmaṇi*, between the Jhelum and the Indus on the plateau of which the Salt Range forms the southern escarpment. To this identification McCrindle raises an objection that had they been situated between the Indus and Jhelum they could scarcely be supposed to have offered their submission to Alexander who had already passed the country[316] Cunningham's efforts to identify the Ossadioi with the Yaudheyas and Johiyas lacks conviction. As we have already said the Vasātis have been linked with the Mauleyas, and if our identification of the Mauleyas be correct then the country of the Vasātis may be either situated to the north of the Mūla Pass or in Sibi (Sivi) district in Baluchistan, and if they were situated to the south then the Vasātis could be located somewhere in Makran. The Sibi district is bounded on the north by Loralai district; on the south by the upper Sind Frontier District, on the east by the Dera Ghazi Khan and on the west by the Kacchi, the Bolan Pass and Quetta-Pishin.[317] Upto the end of the 15th century the district was always a dependency of Multan. It is also known to have been a part of the Ghaznavid empire.[318] This fact of Sibi being a dependency of Multan is of importance as it was near Multan that Alexander received the submission of Ossadioi and that too after the fall of the Kṣudraka-Mālavas (*Anab.* VI, 14-15). It could be said therefore that the Sibi country which was probably inhabited by the Vasātis submitted after the fall of their overlords. In this connection the inter-relation of the Vasātis, Mauleyas and the Kṣudraka-Mālavas mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*

[316] McCrindle, *loc. cit.*, p. 156, fn. 215 Cunningham, *Anrient Geography of India*, p. 280.

[317] *Imp. Gaz.*, Vol. XXII, p. 336.

[318] *Ib.*, p. 338.

(*Vasātayaḥ samauleyāḥ saha Kṣudraka-Mālavaiḥ*, M.B., II, 48, 14) should also be borne in mind. But in the south of the Mula pass as well there are traces of the Vasātis. Judging the course which Alexander took in his march in Gedrosia Bunbury observes that he appears to have kept along a kind of valley or plain which is found to run nearly parallel to the coast between the interior range of Mushti (or Washati) hills and the lower rugged hills that bound the immediate neighbourhood of the sea-coast. This Washati hill may have something to do with the Vasātis, but it is not certain.[310] The modern representatives of the ancient Vasātis are probably the Sobtis, a sub-caste among the Khatris of Panjāb who trace their origin to Ghazni.

Mauleya: (M.B., II, 48, 14). The home of the Mauleya people could be located on Mūla river in Balūchistān, rising in the Harboi hills and having a total length of 180 miles. As far as Kotra in Kacchi it passes with a rapid fall through the central Brahui range; in its lower reaches many flats lie along its course. The upper course is known as Soind; a little lower it is called Mushkbel and from Pāshtha Khan downwards it becomes Mūla. The Mūla drains the whole of the Jhalavan country and also the south-west of the Kacchi. The Mūla Pass route to the Jhalawan country lies along it.[320] High among the mountains Kalāt also commands the approach to an important pass to the plain, i.e., the Mūla. Through this pass passed a commercial high road in olden days but which has long been superseded by the Quetta passes f Harnai and Bolan.[321]

In the *Arthaśāstra* (p. 77) the gems found in the Mauleya mountains are termed Mauleyaka. Baluchistān and Kalāt State in modern tims do not seem to produce any gem.

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[310] Bunbury, *History of Ancient Geography*, pp. 519-20.

[320] *Imp. Gaz.*, XVIII, pp. 19-20.

[321] Holdich, *The Gates of India*, p. 139. London, 1910.

Kṣudraka-Mālava: (M.B., II, 48, 14.) They are linked with the Vasātis and the Mauleyas. In Sanskrit texts the Kṣudraka-Mālavas are taken as a compound which confirms the Greek tradition. The *Mahābhāṣya* (IV, 2, 45) cites the *dvandva* Kṣudraka-Mālava, and the same text relates the opinion of the grammarian kātyāyana giving *Kṣudraka-Mālavī*, "the army of the Ksudraka-Mālavas." It is also known that at certain times the Kṣudrakas were victorious without aid (*ekākibbiḥ Kṣudrakairjitam*, *Mahābhāṣya*, I, 1, 24; 21; V, 3, 52) which perhaps indicates that they fought without the aid of the Mālavas. They are also mentioned along with the Mālavas as an *āyudhajīvī-saṁgha* (Ib., V, 3, 114).

The most powerful republic which Alexander met in his retreat from the Panjab were the Kṣudraka-Mālavas spelt by the Greek as Oxydrakai and Malloi respectively. They were living on the Hydaspes after its confluence with Akesines and were considered to be the most warlike of all the India tribes (Arrian, *Anab.* VII, 4). The Malloi are called independent Indians (*Ib.*, VI, 6) and their cities were situated along the Chenab and the capital along the Rāvī. Arrian places the Oxydraki (*Indika*, C. IV) on the Hydaspes above its confluence with the Akesines. Bunbury is inclined to think that they lived on the east or left bank of the Satlaj (the State of Bahawalpur) and may have extended as far as the junction of the Satlaj with the Indus. The territory of the Malloi was of great extent comprehending a part of the *Doab* formed by the Akesines and Hydraotis and extending, according to Arrian (*Indika*, C. IV), to the confluence of the Akesines and the Indus. Their capital has been identified with Multan, and their territory with the district of Multan.[322]

M. Pryzluski has started a new theory about the Kṣudraka-Mālavas.[323] According to him Kṣudraka means

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[322] MCrindle, *loc. cit.*, pp. 350—52. Also see J.R.A.S,, 1903. p. 685 for the views of V. Smith.

small and Mālava inseperable from Malla and Madra[324] mean fighter and wrestler; the Mallas in the Kṣudraka-Mālava group were of Iranian origin and the Kṣudrakas were the aborigines and hence the epithet small in comparison with the great and powerful Iranians.[325] We have already discussed the Iranian element in Madras previously. It is doubtful however to designate the Kṣudrakas as aborigines on a flimsy ground that the word in Sanskrit means small and therefore used in a derogatory sense.

Śauṇḍika: (M.B., II, 48, 15.) Sauṇḍika in Sanskrit means a dealer in wines (Hemacandra, *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi*, 90). Nothing is known about their location. Perhaps they may be connected with the Sondhis, a subcaste among the Khatris of the Panjāb.

Aṅga and Vaṅga: (M.B., II, 48, 15.) The Aṅgas lived in the area which is now represented by Bhagalpur district in Bihār. The country of the Vaṅgas, however in ancient times did not include the whole of Bengal. In ancient records and epigraphs it is distinguished from Rāḍha which included Suhma and Gauḍa all making Western Bengal but also from Puṇḍra and Puṇḍra-Vardhana which included Varendra making up northern Bengal. Vaṅga thus in ancient times stood for what is known in modern times as Eastern Bengal, comprising the modern Dacca and Chittagong divisions.[326]

Puṇḍra: (M.B., II, 48, 15.) They are connected with the Tāmraliptas (MB., II, 48, 17). On the basis of various Pauranic allusions Pargiter identifies the Puṇḍra country as modern Choṭā Nāgpur with the exception of southern portions (*Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, p. 329), *i.e.*, the modern district of Santal-parganas, Bīrbhum and the

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[323] *J.A.*, April—June, 1929. pp. 313-14.

[324] *J.A.*, 1926. p. 6.

[325] *J.A.*, 1929, April—June, pp. 313-14.

[326] *Indian Culture*, Vol. I, p. 57.

northern portion of Hazārībagh. Mr. Śāstri[327] identifies the Puṇḍra country with Māldah, portions of Purnea east of the Kosī, a part of Dinājpur and Rājshāhī.[328]

Śāṇavatya: (M.B., II, 48, 15.) They are coupled with the Gayas or the people of modern Gaya district. There should be no difficulty in identifying them with the modern Santāls. The Santal parganas in the southern Bhagalpur Division have an area of 5470 sq. miles. The area is bounded on the north by the district of Bhagalpur and Purnea, on the east by Malda, Murshidābād and Bīrbhum, on the south by Burdwan and Mānbhūm and on the west by Hazarībāgh, Monghyr and Bhagalpur.[329]

The Santals are a typical race of aboriginal stock and are akin to Bhūmiyās, Hos and Muṇḍās. Their original home is not known, but in comparatively remote period they were settled in Hazarībāgh plateau, and it is noticeable that the Damodar river by which its southern face is drained, is the territorial object most venerated by them. Within the last few centuries they have worked eastwards and are numerous in the eastern half of the Chotā Nāgpur plateau and in Midnāpur; and they are now emigrating to north Bengal and Assam.[330] It seems that in the age of the Mahābhārata they lived in the area which is now known as Hazārībāgh district which is conterminous with the Gaya district.

Gayā: (M.B., II, 48, 15.) They may be located with the modern district of Gayā comprising two tracts—that to the north being a level plain dotted with the isolated hills and containing some long hill ranges, and the country to south undulating with the several hills forming the northern fringe of the Chotā Nāgpur plateau.

Kaliṅga: (M.B., II, 48, 17.) The proximity of the

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[327] Cunningham, *Ancient Geography*. notes, pp. 723—725.

[328] *Ib.*, p. 724.

[329] *Imp. Gaz.*, XXII, pp. 60-61.

[330] *Ib.*, p. 67.

Kaliṅga country with the Vaitaraṇī river is emphasised in the *Mahābhārata* (*ete Kalingāḥ Kaunteya yatra Vaitaraṇī nadī*, M.B., III, 114, 4). The river Vaitaraṇī was its northern boundary. Thus the ancient Kalinga comprised modern Orissa to the south of the Vaitaraṇī and the sea-coast southward as far as Vizagapatam. The plural use of *Kalingapatyaḥ* shows that there were many Kaliṅga chiefs.

Tāmralipta: M.B., II, 48, 17. The Tāmralipti from the very beginning has been a very important port on the Bay of Bengal. From this port the mission of Aśoka started for Ceylon (*Mahāvamsa*, XI, 38; XIX, 6). The Jaina *Prajñāpanā* mentions Tāmralipti with Vaṅga (*Ind. Studien*, XVI, 397). The *Daśakumāracarita* (p. 205, 1936 ed. Bombay) cites Dāmlipta (Tamralipti) as a city of Suhma. It commanded the entrance to the mouth of the Ganges. The modern town of Tāmluk is situated on the Rūpanārāyan not far from its junction with Hughli. It is the eastern sub-division of Midnāpur District.

The spelling of Tāmralipti was never constant. Hemacandra (*Abhidhānacintāmaṇi*, V, 979) gives four forms Tāmalipta, Dāmalipta, Tāmalipti, and Tamālinī. The forms Tāmra and Tama occur in all manuscripts.[331] The Chinese transcribe it as To-mo-li-ti- (Fa-hien), and Tan-mo-li-ti (Yuan Chwang). Ptolemy (VII, 1, 76) gives Tamalitēs. The name Tāmralipti was also transported to Cambay. The *Pañcadaṇḍacchatraprabandha* (ed. by Weber, p. 3) mentions Tāmralipti in Cambay. An island named Tāmra also appears in the expedition of Sahadeva in Western India (M.B., II, 28, 46). The efforts to derive its name from Sanskrit, however, has been useless as the initials *kam* and *tam* in both the words are of Muṇḍa-khmer origin.[332]

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[331] Levi, *J.A.*, 1925, II, p. 49.

[332] *J.A.*, 1923, pp. 50-51.

Presents made by the Vaṅgas, Kaliṅgas, Tāmraliptas and Puṇḍrakas: *M.B.*, *II*, 48, 17-20.

Dukūla (B.B. II, 48, 17). A kind of very fine cloth made from the fibres obtained from the inner bark of the *dukūla* plant. The *dukūla* cloth is also mentioned in the *Arthaśāstra* (pp. 113-14). Perhaps it was byssos of the Roman writers.[333]

Kauśika: (M.B., II, 48, 17). It seems that Bengal had alrady become famous for its silk. In the Kashmir version of the *Rāmāyana Kiṣkindhā Kāṇḍa* the country of the Kośakāras is mentioned.[334] The commentator Rāma glosses it as the country of the 'cocoon-makers', *i.e.*, the country where the cocoon were available in great abundance. The city of the Kośakāras is mentioned in the Bengali version just after the river Lauhitya and its situation may thus be either in Bengal or Assam.

Patrorṇa: (M.B., II, 48, 17.) Calosanthes Indica. In the dictionary its meaning is given as wove-silk or silk garment, or perhaps also cotton.[335] The finest muslin in the *Periplus* is mentioned as the Gangetic and was manufactured perhaps in Dacca district.[336] The Nāgas of Kaliṅga country were so famous in the art of weaving that the word Kaliṅga in Tāmil came to signify cloth.[337]

Prāvara: (M.B., II, 48, 17). *Prāvara* or *Prāvara* has been described as an outer garment or cloak.[338] In the *Amarakośa* (II, 6, 117) *prāvāra* is *uttarāsaṅga*, i.e., *dupaṭṭā*, or *cādar*. It was also used in the sense of mantle in Buddhist literature (*Kauśeyaprāvāra*, *Mahāvagga*, VIII, 1, 36). It seems that some cloth-merchants

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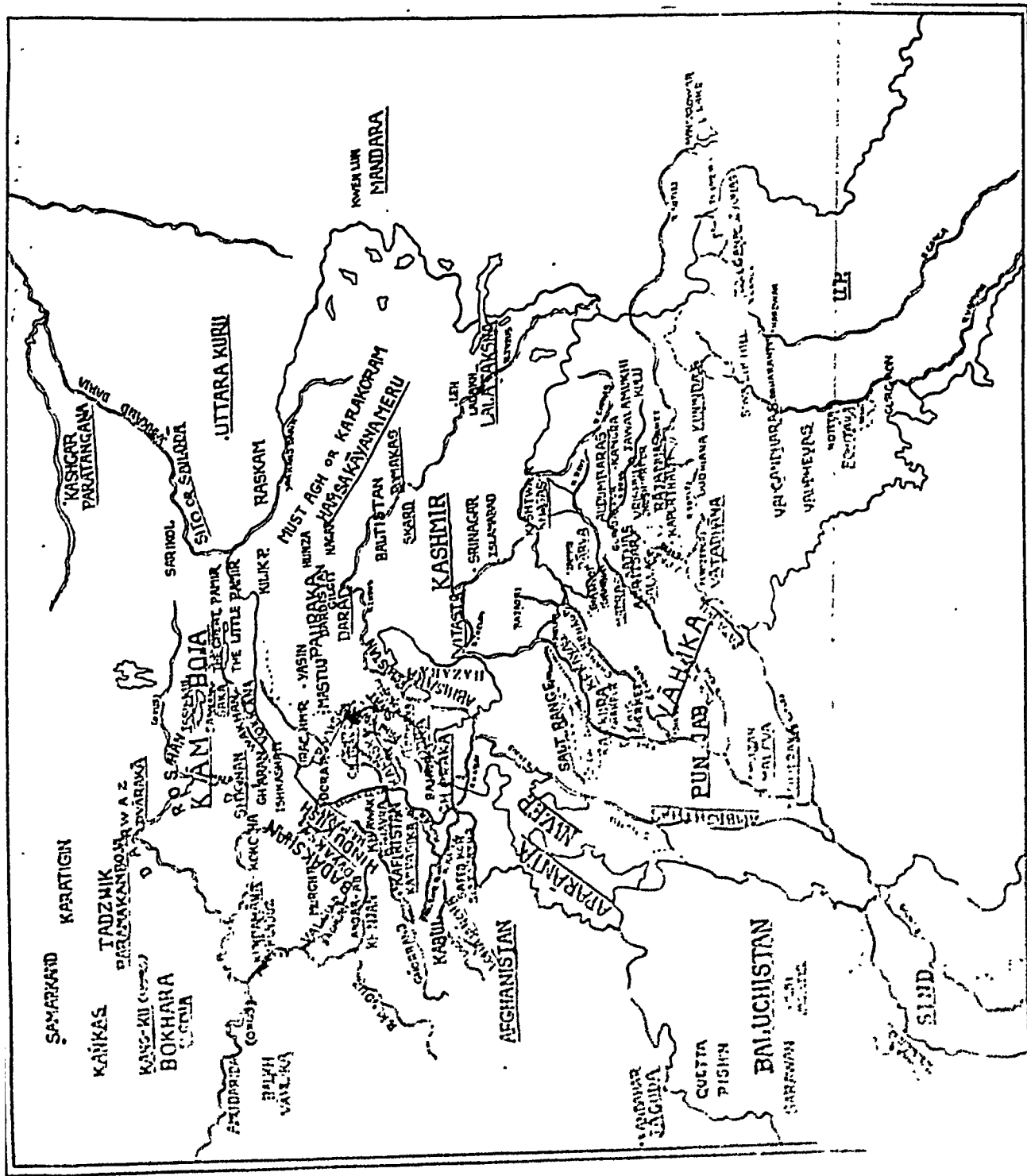
[333] Warmington, *loc. cit.*, p. 212.

[334] Lévi, *J.A.*, 1918, Jan.-Feb., pp. 73-74.

[335] Monier Williams, *Sanskrit English Dictionary*.

[336] Schoff, *Periplus of the Erythrean sea*, p. 46.

[337] Kanakasabhai, *The Tamils eighteen hundred years ago*, p 45.

[338] Monier William, *Sanskrit English Dictionary*.

specialised in dealing exclusively in the *dupaṭṭas* and *cādars*. Thus in the Ins. No. 131 at Sānchī[330] a *cādar* seller (*pāvārika*) is mentioned. The existence of this class of merchants should not be doubted as there were hundreds of varieties in the *cādars* which only a specialist could stock. In the *Mānasollāsa* of Someśvara (1127—1138 A.D.) (*Mānasollāsa*, Vol. II, p. 89, s. 33, Baroda, 1939) it is mentioned that the hankerers after fashion loved to show off the *prāvāras* of various measurements (*prāvārā vividhākārā darśitā vastra-dhāribhiḥ*); they were made of various coloured materials and silk (*vicitra-varṇavastrāṇi-paṭṭasūtramayāni ca*).

Elephants: (M.B., II, 48, 19-20.) There are several points to be considered. Firstly the elephants came from Kāmyakasara (*abhitaḥ Kāmyakaḥ Saraṃ*) (M.B., II, 48, 19). This may suggest at once the Kamarūpa country or Assam, but there is no reference in the *Mahābhārata* which even suggests that Kāmarūpa had come into being as Assam is usually known as Prāgjyotiṣa. In the *Artha-śāstra* (p. 49) the elephants bred in Kaliṅga, Aṅga, Kāruṣa and Eastern India are mentioned to be the best; those of Daśārṇa and midddle country are of middle quality and of Saurāṣṭra and Pañcajana country of low quality. In this list the elephants of the east may mean Assam elephants. In the *Mahābhārata* however we know of a Kāmyaka forest (M.B., III, 84, 16). Lomaśa gives warning to Yudhiṣṭhira (M.B., III, 90) of the dangers lurking in the unknown places and finally accompanies him on his pilgrimage. He first goes to Nāgapura (M.B., III, 90, 22) and lives for three days in the Kāmyaka forest (Ib., 90, 24). Here they were joined by a further party of the Brāhmins who describe the wild nature of the country infested with wild beasts and covered with impenetrable jungle (Ib., III, 91, 4). No further information about the *tīrthas* in this region is given, and abruptly we find the Pāṇḍavas returning to Naimiṣāraṇya (Ib., III, 93, 1).

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[330] *Sānchī*, Vol. I, p. 313.

Nāgapura in this description could be identified with the Chotā Nāgpur area, and the Kāmyaka forest on the fringes of that area. The so called Chotā Nāgpur plateau extends beyond the limits of the division into the tributary states of Chotā Nāgpur and Orissa on the south-west and south and through the Santāl Parganas to the Ganges on the north-east, while its outlying fringes stretch out into the south of the Patnā and Bhāgalpur divisions on the east. There are three plateaus in the stricter application of the term, one in Rānchi and two in Hazāribāgh. Elsewhere this is often very broken and numerous ranges or groups of steep hills are intersected by deep ravines and occasionally by valleys.[340] The division is the home of the non-Arayn tribes who were never properly subjugated by the early Aryan invaders. It may be seen from the above description, how truly the Mahābhārata has described the nature of the country where Kāmyaka forest was situated. There is however one hitch, the elephants came from the Kāmyaka Lake, and there is no lake in Chota Nāgpur proper. But looking towards the extended area of Chotā Nāgpur beyond its modern administrative division in the Orissa tributary states on the south west and south, one could indentify the Kāmyakasara with the Chilka Lake, a shallow inland gulf situated in the south east corner of Puri district, Orissa and in the extreme south extending into Ganjam district.[341] This identification should also support the superiority of Kaliṅga elephants as mentioned in the *Arthaśāstra.*

The elephants for presentation had powerful tusks (*īśādantān*), begirt with golden girdles (*hemakakṣān*), and fitted with lotus coloured elephant-cloths (*padmavarṇa-kuthāvṛtān*) (M.B., III, 48, 19); they were mountain high (*śailābhāḥ*) and always in ruts (*nitya mattaṁśca*). Further

[340] *Imp. Gaz.*, Vol. X, pp. 328-29.
[341] *Ib.*, Vol. X, p. 224.
[342] Cunningham, *Ancient Geography*, p. 753.

these elephants were fitted with armours (*kavacāvṛtān*) and were of even temper (*kṣamāvataḥ*) and of good breed (*kūlīnāṁśca*) (Ib., II, 48, 20).

Gandharva: (M.B., II, 48, 22-23.) The Gandharva country has been identified by Mr. S. M. Sastri on[342] the basis of reference from the *Ramāyaṇa Uttarakāṇḍa* (CXIII, 10-11) with the Gandhāra country. The Gandharva country in the *Ramāyaṇa* is said to be situated on both banks of the Indus. Bharata installed his son Takṣa at Takṣaśilā and his other son Puṣkala at Puṣkalāvatī (*Uttarakāṇḍa*, CXIV, 11). The Gandharva Kings Citraratha and Tumburu made presents of horses for which the Gandharva country was famous, to Yudhiṣṭhira.

Śūkara: (M.B., II, 48, 24). The name is very rare in Sanskrit literature and no references are available to indicate the direction in which the Śūkaras lived. In the Chinese version of the *Candragarbhasūtra* (Section LV of *Mahāsaṁnipāta*) among the ten kingdoms under Svātī *nakṣatra* there is one named as Chou-kia-lo whose original Sanskrit form Śūkara has been restored by M. Lévi.[343]

The word in Sanskrit means 'one who makes a snorting sound,' and hence the pig. It may be surmised therefore that the Śūkaras were some non-Arayan tribe whose speech was not understandable by the Indo-Aryan speaking world. They may be identified with the Śabaras known as Saur, Sar, Sayar, Suir, and Suiri. It may be noticed that the Prākrit forms Saur etc., are traceable from Śūkara. The Sabaras mainly live in Orissa, Chotā Nāgpur and western Bengal, Madras and Central Provices.[344] They speak a language of Mundarian group. They perhaps represent the main body of an ancient race, an isolated fragment of which survives in the Rājmahal Hills.[345] The Sabaras are usually identified with the

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[343] S. Lévi, *Notes Chinois sur l'Inde*, BEFEO, V, p. 270.

[344] Risley, *The Castes and Tribes of Bengal*, Vol. II, p. 241. Calcutta, 1891.

[345] *Ib.*, p. 242.

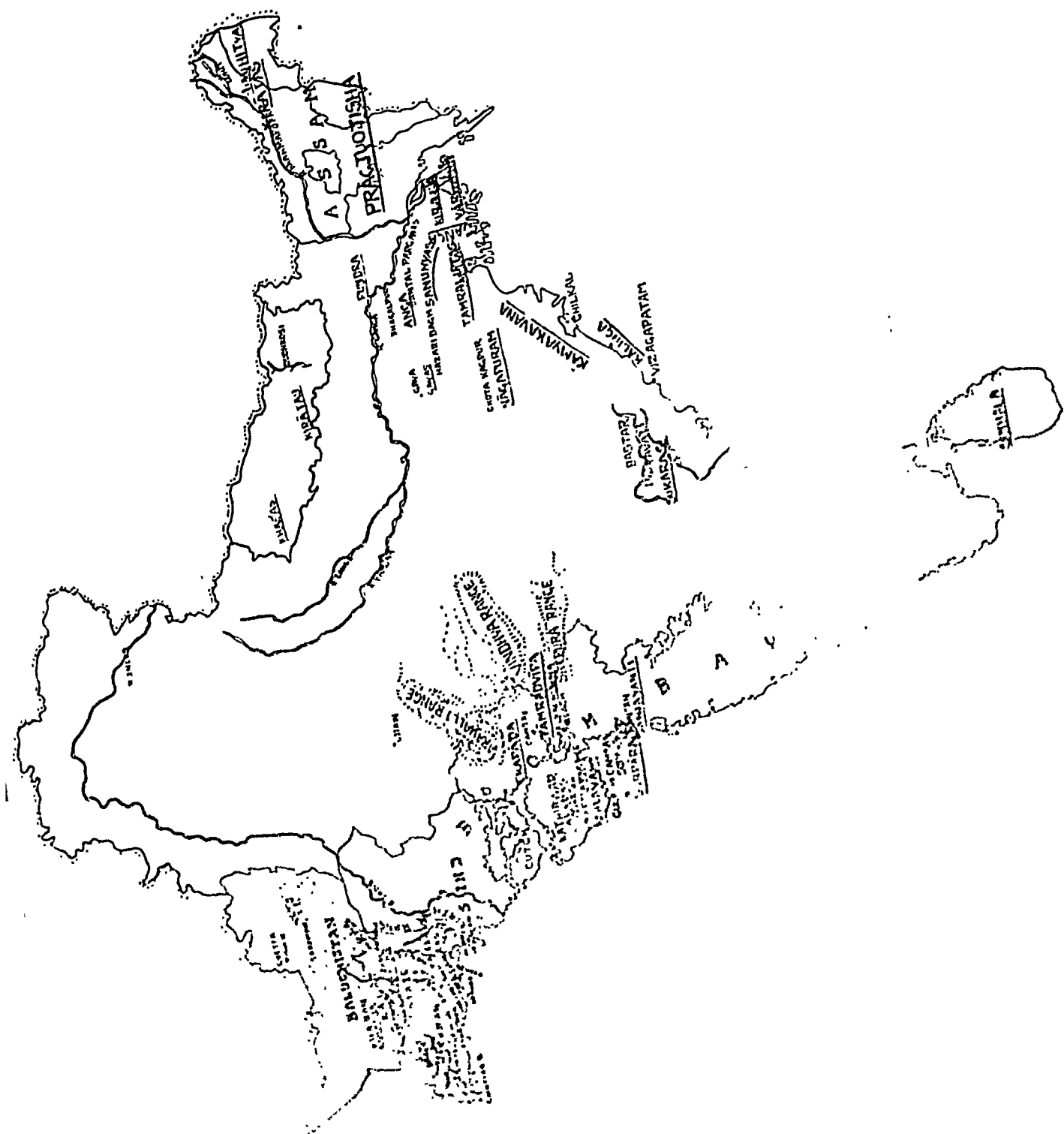
Sabarai of Ptolemy (VII, 1, 81). A number of ancient monuments in Shahabad District in Bihar are ascribed to Sabars or Suirs.

Pāṁśu or Paṁsu Rāṣṭra: (M.B., II, 48, 26.) Vikṣarādya one of the sons of Anāyus (M.B. I, 61, 39) became the king of Pāṁśuraṣṭra. The Pāṁsus were invited to join the Pāṇḍava side in the Great War (M.B., V, 4, 17) and are mentioned just before the Auḍras (*Ib.*, 4, 18). This unity of Auḍras and Pāṁsus is also supported by the Oṛh-Pān, one of the five subcastes of the Pāns who were probably sprung from Oriya fathers and Pān mothers.[346] The connection with the Oriya people locates them somewhere in Orissa or Chotā Nāgpur. There is every possibility that they were the ancestors of modern Pān tribe, also known as Pānva, Pānr, Pānika etc.,—a low weaving, basket-making servile caste scattered under various names throughout the north of Orissa and the southern and western part of Chotā Nāgpur. According to Dalton whose opinion about the origin of the Pāns is somewhat confused these people are Aryans,[347] and probably the remmnants of the Aryan colonies subjugated by the Hos;[348] at another place they are said to be undistinguishable from the Ho community.[349] Risley however does not agree with the Aryan origin of the Pāns[350] as according to him they claim their descent from the serpents and their caste has a very numerous set of totems.

Siṁhala: (M.B., II, 48, 30, 31.) Siṁhala or Ceylon is well known. The presentation which the Sinhalese people made, howevere, to Yudhiṣṭhira are of interest. They are described below:

Samudrasāra: (M.B., II, 48, 30.) In the dictionary it has been described 'quintessence of the sea' or pearls.[351]

[346] Risley, *loc. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 157.
[347] Dalton, *Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 325.
[348] *Ib.*, 185.
[349] *Ib.*, pp. 196, 325.
[350] Risley, *loc. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 156.
[351] Monier Williams, *loc. cit.*, p. 1167, Col. 1.

BALUCHISTAN
SIND
CUTCH
VINDHYA RANGE
TAMRADVIPA
KIRATAS
ASSAM
PRAGJYOTISHA
PUNDRA
ANGA
BHAGALPUR
SANTAL PARGANAS
GAYA
HAZARIBAGH
SANUNYAS
TAMRALIPTAS
CHOTA NAGPUR
CHILKA
KALINGA
VIZAGAPATAM
BASTAR

It could not be pearl as the pearls are mentioned separately in the lists of the gifts—perhaps the *samudrasāra* is the same as *samudraphena*, the cuttle-fish bone, but this is not certain.

Vaiḍūrya: (M.B., II, 48, 30). Originally the *Vaiḍūrya* was generally identified with the beryl, but the researches of R. Garbe (*Die Indischen Mineralien*, p. 85, n. 2) and S.M. Tagore (*Maṇimālā*, p. 252, *s qq*) have proved that the *vaiḍūrya* was the cat's-eye—the principal argument supporting this view is that in the description of the *vaiḍūrya* in the Sanskrit literature on jewellery it has often the resemblance of cat's-eye. In India the mountain Vidūra from which Vaiḍūrya was found has been mentioned by Buddha Bhaṭṭa[352] as situated on the frontier of two countries—the first is Koṅga corresponding to the modern district of Salem and Coimbtore with some parts of Tinnevelly and Travancore.[353] The correct text of Valīka which follows Koṅga in Buddha Bhaṭṭa is Colaka who inhabited the Coromandal coast and therefore the Vidūra mountains should be searched in the south of the Eastern Ghats. The massif of Shivaraï corresponds perfectly to these conditions, and it is known that the District of Salem is very rich in mineral resources particularly quartz and corundum of different species.[354] Ceylon and Ratanpur also produced quartz and cat's eye.[355] The Romans also knew of the corundum cat's-eye which occurs in Ceylon.[356] Perhaps both the qualities of the cat's-eye are referred to under *vaiḍūrya* from Ceylon.

Pearls: The chief locality for pearl fishery was the Gulf of Manaar with the result that Ceylon is always mentioned as a source of pearl in Buddhist and Sanskrit literature. In the *Arthaśāstra* (pp. 75-76) the Ceylon or

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352 Finot, *loc. cit.*, p. 43, s. 199.
353 Wilson, *Mackenzie Collection*, 2nd ed., p. 200.
354 Finot, *loc. cit.*, pp. XLVI—VII.
355 Watts, *Dict. of Ec. Pro.* S. V. Carnelian.
356 Warmington, *loc. cit.*, p. 249.

kauleya pearls are enumerated along the pearls from Pāṇḍya kingdom and other places. Varāhamihira (LXXXI, 2) includes Simhala as one of the eight places where there were pearl fisheries. The Agastimata[357] also includes Siṁhala as a premier place for pearl fishery—the others being Ārvāṭī, Barbara and Pārasīka.

Śaṁkha: (M.B., II, 48, 30.) As late as the 6th century conch-shells were being exported from India and Ceylon to Italy. The sacred chank (a gastropod, Turbenella rapa) of the Gulf of Manaar still provides vessels, musical instruments etc. We learn of old chank-cutters working in Korkai and Kāverīpaṭṭinam.[358]

Kutha: (M.B., II, 48, 30.) A printed or variegated cloth serving as an elephant's housing. It seems that Ceylon specialised in such sort of cloth.

All the gifts mentioned above were brought by the Simhalese men with the corners of their eyes somewhat red (*Śyāmāstāmrāntalocanāḥ*), clothed in fine garments and jewels (M.B. II, 48, 31).

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[357] Finot, *loc. cit.*, pp. 95-96, ss. 109—111.

[358] Warmington, *loc. cit.*, p. 174.

APPENDIX I

SANSKRIT TEXT

Sabhāparva. 45-24.

ब्राह्मणा वाटधानाश्च गोमन्तः शतसंघशः।
त्रैखर्वं बलिमादाय द्वारि तिष्ठन्ति वारिताः॥

Sabhāparva. 46-21.

आवर्जिता इवाभान्ति निघ्नाश्चैत्रकिकौकुराः।
कारस्करा लोहजङ्घा युधिष्ठिरनिवेशने॥

Sabhāparva. 45, 19-20.

कदलीमृगमोकानि कृष्णश्यामारुणानि च
काम्बोजः प्राहिणोत्तस्मै परार्घ्यानपि कम्बलान्॥१॥
रथयोषिद्गवाश्वस्य शतशोऽथ सहस्रशः
त्रिंशतं चोष्ट्रवामीनां शतानि विचरन्त्युत॥२०॥

Sabhāparva. 47.

यन्मया पाण्डवानां तु दृष्टं तच्छृणु भारत
आहृतं भूमिपालैर्हि वसु मुख्यं ततस्ततः॥१॥
न विन्दे दृढमात्मानं दृष्ट्वाहं तदरेर्धनम्
फलतो भूमितो वापि प्रतिपद्यस्व भारत॥२॥
ऐडांश्चैलान्[39] वार्षदंशाञ्जातरूपपरिष्कृतान्
प्रावाराजिनमुख्यांश्च काम्बोजः प्रददौ वसु॥३॥
अश्वांस्तित्तिरिकल्माषांस्त्रिशतं शुकनासिकान्
उष्ट्रवामीस्त्रिशतं च पुष्टाः पीलुशमीङ्गुदैः॥४॥
गोवासना ब्राह्मणाश्च दासमीयाश्च सर्वशः
प्रीत्यर्थं ते महाभाग धर्मराज्ञो महात्मनः
त्रिखर्वं बलिमादाय द्वारि तिष्ठन्ति वारिताः॥५॥
कमण्डलूनुपादाय जातरूपमयाञ्शुभान्
एवं बलिं प्रदायाथ प्रवेशं लेभिरे ततः॥६॥
शतं दासी सहस्राणां कार्पासिकनिवासिनाम्

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[39] Variants: K1 [illegible] K. 2.3; Ś1. N; V; B; Da. Da 206 ed. n. चैलान्

श्यामास्तन्व्यो दीर्घकेश्यो हेमाभरणभूषिताः
शूद्रा विप्रोत्तमार्हाणि राङ्कवाण्यजिनानि च ॥७॥
बलिं च कृत्स्नमादाय भरुकच्छनिवासिनः
उपनिन्युर्महाराज हयान्गान्धारदेशजान् ॥८॥
इन्द्रकृष्टैर्वर्तयन्ति धान्यैर्नदीमुखैश्च ये
समुद्रनिष्कुटे जाताः परिसिन्धु च मानवाः ॥९॥
ते वैरामाः पारदाश्च वङ्गाश्च[360] कितवैः सह
विविधं बलिमादाय रत्नानि विविधानि च ॥१०॥
अजाविकं गोहिरण्यं खरोष्ट्रं फलजं मधु
कम्बलान्विविधांश्चैव द्वारि तिष्ठन्ति वारिताः ॥११॥
प्राग्ज्योतिषाधिपः शूरो म्लेच्छानामधिपो बली
यवनैः सहितो राजा भगदत्तो महारथः ॥१२॥
आजानेयान्हयाञ्शीघ्रानादायानिलरंहसः
बलिं च कृत्स्नमादाय द्वारि तिष्ठति वारितः ॥१३॥
अश्मसारमयं भाण्डं शुद्धदन्तत्सरूनसीन्
प्राग्ज्योतिषोऽथ तद्दत्वा भगदत्तोऽव्रजत्तदा ॥१४॥
द्यक्षांस्त्र्यक्षांल्ललाटाक्षान्नानादिग्भ्यः समागतान्
औष्णीषाननिवासांश्च बाहुकान्[361] पुरुषादकान् ॥१५॥
एकपादांश्च तत्राहमपश्यं द्वारि वारितान्
बल्यर्थं ददतस्तस्मै हिरण्यं रजतं बहु ॥१६॥
इन्द्रगोपकवर्णाभाञ्शुकवर्णान्मनोजवान्
तथैवेन्द्रायुधनिभान्सन्ध्याभ्रसदृशानपि ॥१७॥
अनेकवर्णानारण्यान्गृहीत्वाश्वान्मनोजवान्
जातरूपमनर्घ्यं च ददुस्तस्यैकपादकाः ॥१८॥
चीनान्हूणाञ्शकानोड्रान्पर्वतान्तरवासिनः
वार्ष्णेयान्हारहूणांश्च[362] कृष्णान्हैमवतांस्तथा ॥१९॥
न पारयाम्यभिगतान्विविधान्द्वारि वारितान्
बल्यर्थं ददतस्तस्य नानारूपाननेकशः ॥२०॥
कृष्णग्रीवान्महाकायान्रासभाञ्शतपातिनः
आहार्षुर्दशसाहस्रान्विनीतान्दिक्षु विश्रुतान् ॥२१॥
प्रमाणरागस्पर्शाढ्यं बाह्लीचीनसमुद्भवम्
और्णं च राङ्कवं चैव कीटजं पट्टजं तथा ॥२२॥
कुट्टीकृतं[363] तथैवान्यत्कमलाभं सहस्रशः
श्लक्ष्णं वस्त्रमकार्पासमाविकं मृदु चाजिनम् ॥२३॥

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[360] D^5 आभीराः B 1.4-5 D_1. 5 तुङ्काश्च
[361] N_1 B_4 DN (!) D^6 पैनकान्
[362] $Ś_1$ हारनाश्च; K_1 हार (m^0री) हूरांश्च.
[363] कुटीकृतं

ये परार्धे हिमवतः सूर्योदयगिरौ नृपाः
वारिषेणसमुद्रान्ते[369] लौहित्यमभितश्च ये
फलमूलाशना ये च किराताश्चर्मवाससः ॥८॥
चन्दनागुरुकाष्ठानां भारान्कालीयकस्य च
चर्मरत्नसुवर्णानां गन्धानां चैव राशयः ॥९॥
कैरातिकानामयुतं दासीनां च विशांपते
आहृत्य रमणीयार्थान्दूरजान्मृगपक्षिणः ॥१०॥
निचितं पर्वतेभ्यश्च हिरण्यं भूरिवर्चसम्
बलिं च कृत्स्नमादाय द्वारि तिष्ठन्ति वारिताः ॥११॥
कायव्या[370] दरदा दार्वाः शूरा वैयमकास्तथा
औदुम्बरा[371] दुर्विभागाः पारदा बाह्लिकैः सह ॥१२॥
काश्मीराः कुन्दमानाश्च[372] पौरका[373] हंसकायनाः
शिबित्रिगर्तयौधेया राजन्या मद्रकेकयाः ॥१३॥
अम्बष्ठाः कौकुरास्तार्क्ष्या वस्त्रपाः पह्लवैः सह
वसातयः समौलेयाः सहक्षुद्रकमालवैः ॥१४॥
शौण्डिकाः[374] कुक्कुराश्चैव शकाश्चैव विशांपते
अङ्गा वङ्गाश्च पुण्ड्राश्च शानवत्या गयास्तथा ॥१५॥
सुजातयः श्रेणिमन्तः श्रेयांसः शस्त्रपाणयः
आहार्षुः क्षत्रिया वित्तं शतशोऽजातशत्रवे ॥१६॥
वङ्गाः कलिङ्गपतयस्ताम्रलिप्ताः सपुण्ड्रकाः
दुकूलं कौशिकं चैव पत्रोर्णं प्रावरानपि ॥१७॥
तत्र स्म द्वारपालैस्ते प्रोच्यन्ते राजशासनात्
कृतकाराः सुबलयस्ततो द्वारमवाप्स्यथ ॥१८॥
ईषादन्तान्हेमकक्षान्पद्मवर्णान्कुथावृतान्
शैलाभान्नित्यमत्तांश्च अभितः काम्यकं सरः ॥१९॥
दत्त्वैकैको दशशतान्कुञ्जरान्कवचावृतान्
क्षमावतः कुलीनांश्च द्वारेण प्राविशंस्ततः ॥२०॥
एते चान्ये च बहवो गणा दिग्भ्यः समागताः
अन्यैश्चोपाहृतान्यत्र रत्नानीह महात्मभिः ॥२१॥
राजा चित्ररथो नाम गन्धर्वो वासवानुगः
शतानि चत्वार्यददद्धयानां वातरंहसां ॥२२॥

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[369] N_1 V_1 B 2-6 Dn D 3-5 कान्ते (Dn 2 D3. न्ह)

[370] K 1-3 कांबोजा ; K_4 N_1 V_1 BD 1-5 कव्यादा Dn (!) कैराताः; M_2 कावव्या

[371] B 1-4 औडु (B 2 डं) बरा; D_1 कुडुंबरा

[372] K^4 Dn (!) D^6 वकुलाश्च

[373] K^4 N_1, V_1 Dn, D^6 बौरका instead of पौरका

[374] K_2 शौंडिकाः; K^4 Dn (!) D^6 पौंड्रिकाः

तुंबुरुस्तु प्रमुदितो गंधर्वो वाजिनां शतं
आम्रपत्रसवर्णानामददद्धेममालिनाम् ॥२३॥
कृती च राजा कौरव्य शूकराणां विशांपते
अददद्गजरत्नानां शतानि सुबहून्यपि ॥२४॥
पांशुराष्ट्राद्वसुदानो राजा षड्विंशतिं गजान्
अश्वानां च सहस्रे द्वे राजन्काञ्चनमालिनाम् ॥२६॥
जवसत्त्वोपपन्नानां वयःस्थानां नराधिप
बलिं च कृत्स्नमादाय पाण्डवेभ्यो न्यवेदयत् ॥२७॥
यज्ञसेनेन दासीनां सहस्राणि चतुर्दश
दासानामयुतं चैव सदाराणां विशांपते ॥२८॥
गजयुक्ता महाराज रथाः षड्विंशतिस्तथा
राज्यं च कृत्स्नं पार्थेभ्यो यज्ञार्थं वै निवेदितम् ॥२९॥
समुद्रसारं वैदूर्यं मुक्ताः शङ्खांस्तथैव च
शतशश्च कुथांस्तत्र सिंहलाः समुपाहरन् ॥३०॥
संवृता मणिचीरैस्तु श्यामास्ताम्रान्तलोचनाः
तान्गृहीत्वा नरास्तत्र द्वारि तिष्ठन्ति वारिताः ॥३१॥